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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

ITALY,
Designed for the Works of
TACITUS,
By Robert de Vaugondy,
Royal Geographer,
and Fellow of the Royal Academy at Nantz.
RÆTIA
NORICUM
GALLIA
Alpes Cottiæ
Alpes Graiæ
Alpes Maritimæ
Liguria
Insubres
Cenomani
Venetia
Histria
Pannonica
Aquileia
Padus Fl.
Ravenna
Arminium
Picenum
Apenninus
Etruria
Florentia
Pisæ
Corsica
Sabina
ROMA
Tiberis Fl.
Latium
Campania
Apulia
Calabria
Barium
Brundisium
Tarentum
Thurii
Sicilia
Syracusæ
Rhegium
Messana
Panormus
Eryx
Drepanum
Lilybæum
Pontia I.
I. Pandataria
Capreæ
Sardinia
MARE ADRIATICUM
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
Durrachium
Brundusium
Cock. sculp.

THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

WITH

AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS;

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus fit.

TACITUS, Annals, iii. s. 65.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

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Theſe tranſactions paſſed in a few months.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls.
822	69	*Servius Galba, 2d time, Titus Vinius Rufinus.*

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK I.

I. THE æra, from which it is my intention to deduce the following narration, is the ſecond conſulſhip of Servius Galba, when Titus Vinius was his colleague in office. Of the antecedent period, including a ſpace of eight hundred and twenty years *(a)* from the foundation of Rome, the hiſtory has been compoſed by various authors, who, as long as they had before them the tranſactions *(b)* of the Roman people, dignified their work with eloquence equal to the ſubject, and a ſpirit of freedom worthy of the old republic. After the battle of Actium, when, to cloſe the ſcene of civil diſtraction, all power and authority were ſurrendered to a ſingle ruler, the hiſtoric character diſappeared, and genius died by the ſame blow that ended public liberty.

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liberty. Truth was reduced to the laſt gaſp, and various circumſtances conſpired againſt her. A new conſtitution took place, undefined, and little underſtood. Men reſigned their rights, and lived like aliens in their native country. Adulation began to ſpread her baneful influence, and a rooted hatred of their ambitious maſters rankled in the breaſt of numbers. Between both parties, one paying their court, and the other brooding over public injuries, the care of tranſmitting due information to poſterity was utterly loſt. It is true, that, againſt the ſeductions of the time-ſerving writer, you may be upon your guard; but, on the other hand, ſpleen and calumny are devoured with a greedy ear. Flattery wears a badge of ſervitude, while malignity ſpeaks the tone of independance, and is therefore well received. With regard to the writer of the following work, he can with truth aver, that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius were neither known to him by marks of favour, nor by perſonal injury. The foundation of his fortune *(c)* was laid by Veſpaſian, advanced by Titus, and carried higher by Domitian. The fact muſt not be diſſembled: but the hiſtorian, who enters on his office with a profeſſion of integrity, muſt not deſert the cauſe of truth. No character ſhould be touched with partiality; none ſhould be diſfigured by paſſion, or reſentment. Of Nerva and Trajan *(d)*, if my health continues, it is my deſign to compoſe the hiſtory; it is a favourite plan, rich in materials, and every way ſafe. I have reſerved it for the evening of my days; a glorious period! in which, through the rare felicity of the times, a man may think with freedom, and what he thinks he may publiſh to the world.

II. The ſubject now before me preſents a ſeries of great events, and battles fierce and bloody; a portion of time big with inteſtine diviſions, and even the intervals of peace deformed with cruelty and horror: the whole a tragic volume, diſplaying, in

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ſucceſſion, four princes *(a)* put to death; three civil wars *(b)*; with foreign enemies a greater number, and, in ſome conjunctures, both depending at once; proſperity in the Eaſt, diſaſters in the Weſt; Illyricum thrown into convulſions; both the Gauls on the eve of a revolt; Britain *(c)* conquered, and, in the moment of conqueſt, loſt again; the Sarmatians and the Suevians *(d)* leagued againſt the Romans; the Dacian name ennobled by alternate victory and defeat; and, finally, the Parthians taking the field under the banners of a pretended Nero *(e)*. In the courſe of the work, we ſhall ſee Italy overwhelmed with calamities; new wounds inflicted, and the old, which time had cloſed, opened again and bleeding afreſh; cities ſacked by the enemy, or ſwallowed up by earthquakes *(f)*, and the fertile country of Campania made a ſcene of deſolation; Rome laid waſte by fire; her ancient and moſt venerable temples ſmoking on the ground; the capitol *(g)* wrapt in flames by the hands of frantic citizens; the holy ceremonies of religion violated; adultery reigning without controul; the adjacent iſlands filled with exiles; rocks and deſert places ſtained with clandeſtine murder, and Rome itſelf a theatre of horror; where nobility of deſcent, and ſplendour of fortune, marked men out for deſtruction; where the vigour of mind that aimed at civil dignities, and the modeſty that declined them, were offences without diſtinction; where virtue was a crime that led to certain ruin; where the guilt of informers, and the wages of their iniquity, were alike deteſtable; where the ſacerdotal order, the conſular dignity, the government of provinces *(h)* and even the cabinet of the prince, were ſeized by that execrable race, as their lawful prey; where nothing was ſacred, nothing ſafe from the hand of rapacity; where ſlaves were ſuborned, or, by their own malevolence, excited againſt their maſters; where freedmen betrayed their patrons; and he, who had lived without an enemy *(i)*, died by the treachery of a friend.

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III. And yet this melancholy period, barren as it was of public virtue, produced ſome examples of truth and honour. Mothers went with their ſons into voluntary exile; wives followed the fortune of their huſbands; relations ſtood forth in the cauſe of their unhappy kindred; ſons appeared in defence of their fathers; ſlaves on the rack gave proofs of their fidelity; eminent citizens, under the hard hand of oppreſſion, were reduced to want and miſery, and, even in that diſtreſs, retained an unconquered ſpirit. We ſhall ſee others firm to the laſt, and, in their deaths, nothing inferior to the applauded characters of antiquity. In addition to the misfortunes uſual in the courſe of human tranſactions, we ſhall ſee the earth teeming with prodigies, the ſky overcaſt with omens, thunder rolling with dreadful denunciation, and a variety of prognoſtics, ſometimes auſpicious, often big with terror, occaſionally uncertain, dark, equivocal, frequently direct and manifeſt. In a word, the gods never gave ſuch terrible inſtructions, nor, by the ſlaughter of armies, made it ſo clear and evident, that, inſtead of extending protection *(a)* to the empire, it was their awful pleaſure to let fall their vengeance on the crimes of an offending people.

IV. Before we take up the thread of our narrative, it will not be uſeleſs to enquire what, in that period, was the ſtate of affairs at Rome, and what the ſpirit that went forth among her armies; how the provinces ſtood affected, and wherein conſiſted the ſtrength or weakneſs of the empire. By proceeding in this manner, we ſhall not content ourſelves with a bare recital of facts, which are often aſcribed to chance; we ſhall ſee the ſpring of each tranſaction, and a regular chain of cauſes and effects will be laid open to our view.

The death of Nero, in the firſt tumult of emotion, was conſi-

dered as a public bleſſing; but the ſenate, the people of Rome, the prætorian guards, and the legions, wherever ſtationed, were variouſly affected by that event. A new political ſecret was then for the firſt time diſcovered. It was perceived, that elſewhere than at Rome, an emperor might be inveſted with the ſovereign power. The fathers ſeized the opportunity, during the abſence of a prince, yet new *(a)* to the reins of government, to exerciſe their ancient rights, pleaſed with the novelty of freedom, and the reſumption of their legiſlative authority. The Roman knights caught the flame of liberty. Honeſt men began to entertain hopes of the conſtitution. Such as ſtood connected with families of credit, and the various clients and freedmen of illuſtrious men driven into exile, were all erect with expectation of better times. The inferior populace, who loitered away their time in the theatre and the circus; the ſlaves of abandoned characters, and the ſycophant crew, who, without ſubſtance of their own, had been pampered by the vices of Nero; all of that deſcription ſtood covered with aſtoniſhment, yet panting for news, and eagerly ſwallowing the rumour of the day.

V. The prætorian guards *(a)* had been, by habit and the obligation of their oath, always devoted to the imperial family. Their revolt from Nero was not ſo much their own inclination, as the management of their leaders. Acting without principle, they now were ready for new commotions. The promiſe of a donative in the name of Galba was ſtill to be performed. They knew that war is the ſoldier's harveſt. Peace affords no opportunity to gain the recompenſe due to valour; and the favours of the new prince would be engroſſed by the legions, to whom he owed his elevation. Fired by theſe reflections, and farther inſtigated by the arts of Nymphidius Sabinus *(b)*, their commanding

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officer, whoſe ambition aimed at the imperial dignity, they began to meditate a ſecond revolution.

The conſpiracy was cruſhed in the bud, and Nymphidius periſhed in the attempt. But the ſoldiers had thrown off the maſk, and the ſenſe of guilt ſerved only to goad and ſpur their reſolution. They talked of Galba with contempt and ridicule; they laughed at his advanced age; they inveighed againſt his avarice; and the rigorous diſcipline *(c)* by which he had acquired his military character, inflamed the prejudices of men, who had been enervated by a long peace of fourteen years. During that time, the diſſolute manners of Nero diffuſed a general corruption, inſomuch that the virtues, which formerly gained the affection of the army, were fallen into contempt. Nero was endeared to the ſoldiers by his vices. Galba, on the contrary, was rendered unpopular by the auſterity of his manners. He was uſed to ſay, that he choſe his ſoldiers, but never bought them. The maxim was worthy of the old republic, but no man thought it an effuſion from the heart. His conduct and his words were too much at variance.

VI. GALBA, being now in the decline of life, reſigned himſelf altogether to Titus Vinius *(a)* and Cornelius Laco; the former the moſt profligate of men, and the latter deſpiſed for his ſluggiſh inactivity. By thoſe pernicious miniſters, he was involved in the popular hatred due to their own flagitious deeds. The wickedneſs of Vinius, and the incapacity of Laco, proved his ruin in the end. He made his approach to Rome *(b)* by ſlow journeys, in his progreſs marking his way with blood and cruelty. Cingonius Varro, conſul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, of conſular rank, were, by his orders, put to death; the former, as an accom-

accomplice in the enterprife of Nymphidius, and the latter, becaufe he had been appointed to command the army under Nero. They were condemned unheard, and, for that reafon, thought the innocent victims of a barbarous policy.

Galba's entry *(c)* into the city of Rome, after the maffacre of feveral thoufands of unarmed and defencelefs foldiers, ftruck a general panic. The people at large were thrown into conflernation, and even the men, who executed the orders of their general, ftood aftonifhed at the horrors of the fcene. Rome, at that time, was filled with a prodigious body of troops, aflembled from various parts of the empire. Befides the forces drawn from the fleet *(d)*, and left as a garrifon by Nero, Galba, when he entered the city, brought with him a legion from Spain. To thefe muft be added the *(e)* feveral companies from Germany, from Britain, and Illyricum, which had been fent forward towards the Cafpian ftreights *(f)*, to ferve in the war then intended againft the Albanians. In a fhort time afterwards, on the firft notice of the revolt excited in Gaul by the turbulent genius of Vindex *(g)*, they were all recalled, and the conlequence was, that Rome faw within her walls the unufual fpectacle of a vaft military force. In fo large a number of foldiers, not yet devoted to the intereft of a fingle leader, the feed-plots of a new rebellion were prepared, and ready to break out on the firft alarm.

VII. It happened, at this point of time, that an account arrived of two murders, committed at a diftance from Rome; one of Clodius Macer in Africa, and the other of Fonteius Capito *(a)* in Germany. Macer, beyond all doubt, was engaged in fchemes of ambition, and, in the midft of his projects, was cut off by Trebonius Garrucianus, the procurator of the province, who had received his orders from Galba. Capito was put to death by Cornelius

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nelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, on a like ſuſpicion of plotting innovations in the ſtate. But the charge againſt him was by no means clear, nor had the emperor iſſued his orders. The general opinion was that Capito, however branded with avarice, rapacity, and other vices, had not added to his crimes the guilt of rebellion; but that the authors of his deſtruction, having firſt endeavoured to draw him into their own deſigns, combined to execute on an innocent victim the vengeance due to their own iniquity.

Galba, with his uſual facility, or, perhaps, wiſhing to avoid the danger of an enquiry into what could not be recalled, thought it prudent to give his ſanction to the acts of his officers, however unjuſt and cruel. Both executions were, notwithſtanding, the ſubject of public clamour; the uſual fate of all unpopular princes: their actions, when the current of the times is ſet againſt them, are taken in the groſs, and, whether good or evil, condemned without diſtinction. Venality and corruption were now fully eſtabliſhed. The emperor's freedmen engroſſed the whole power of the ſtate, and every thing was put up to ſale. Even the ſlaves, in haſte to grow rich, and fearing the uncertainty of an old man's life, began to ſeize their ſhare of the plunder. The new court opened with all the vices of Nero's reign, but without the ſame apology. The advanced age *(b)* of Galba was a ſubject of ridicule. Diſſipation, at his time of life, excited laughter and contempt. Appearances are the reaſons of the populace: they were accuſtomed to the youthful frolics of Nero, and, in their compariſon of princes, elegance of figure and the graces of deportment are deciſive qualities.

VIII. Such was the poſture of affairs at Rome, and ſuch the ſentiments that pervaded the maſs of the people. With regard to the

the provinces, Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus *(a)*, a man diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence, and well accompliſhed in the arts of peace, but of no reputation in war. In both the Gauls, the name of Vindex was ſtill held in veneration; and the people, pleaſed with their recent admiſſion to the freedom *(b)* of Rome, and the diminution of their tribute, ſhewed no ſymptoms of diſaffection. In thoſe parts, however, which lay contiguous to the German armies, the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities ſaw, with diſcontent, that they were not thought worthy of the like indulgence. Some of them complained that their territories were circumſcribed within narrower limits; and, in vulgar minds, the good extended to others was an aggravation of the injury done to themſelves.

The legions in Germany did not ſhew a countenance that promiſed a perfect calm. The reſtleſs temper of the ſoldiers, by their late victory *(c)* fluſhed with pride, yet dreading the imputation of having conquered Galba's party, was thrown into violent agitations, by turns inflamed with rage, and overwhelmed with fear. From ſuch a number of ſoldiers, who had the power of the ſword in their own hands, nothing but danger was to be apprehended. They balanced for ſome time, before they detached themſelves from Nero; nor did Verginius, their commanding officer, declare immediately for Galba. Whether that tardy movement was occaſioned by his own ambitious projects, cannot now be known. The ſoldiers, it is certain, made him a tender of the imperial dignity. The death of Fonteius Capito was another cauſe of diſcontent. Even ſuch as could not deny the juſtice of the meaſure, exclaimed againſt it with indignation. While the minds of men were thus diſtracted with contending paſſions, Galba thought fit, under a ſhew of friendſhip, to recall Verginius *(d)* from his poſt. The legions had now no chief at their head,

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head, and, if the conduct of their general was arraigned, they conſidered themſelves as men involved in the ſame accuſation.

IX. The legions on the Upper Rhine were ill retained in their duty by Hordeonius Flaccus, an officer far advanced in years, without vigour of mind, diſabled in his limbs, and, by his infirmities, expoſing himſelf and old age to ſcorn. Unequal to the command even in quiet times, he was now, in a camp full of bold and turbulent ſpirits, unable to ſupport his authority. His endeavours to enforce obedience ſerved only to irritate the minds of men diſpoſed to mutiny. On the Lower Rhine, the army had been for ſome time without a general of conſular rank, till Aulus Vitellius *(a)*, ſon of the perſon of that name who had been cenſor, and three times conſul, was ſent by Galba to take upon him the command. This to Galba ſeemed ſufficient, and the Fates *(b)* ordained it.

In Britain every thing was quiet. The legions ſtationed in that iſland had no party-diviſions to diſtract them. During the civil wars that followed, they took no part in the conteſt. Situated at a diſtance, and divided by the ocean from the reſt of the world, they did not catch the epidemic phrenſy of the times. They knew no enemies but thoſe of their country, and were not taught by civil diſcord to hate one another. Illyricum remained in a ſtate of tranquillity, though the legions drawn by Nero from that country found the means, while they loitered in Italy, of tampering with Verginius. But the armies were at diſtant ſtations, ſeparated by a long tract of ſea or land; and that circumſtance proved the beſt expedient to prevent a combination of the military. They could neither act with a ſpirit of union, nor, by communicating their vices, ſpread a general infection through the legions that lay remote from each other.

X. The

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X. The Eaſt was hitherto free from commotion. Licinius Mucianus governed the province of Syria with four legions under his command. He was an officer of experience, diſtinguiſhed, in the early parts of his life, by alternate viciſſitudes of good and evil fortune. In his youth the favour of the great was the object of his ambition, and in that purſuit he waſted his fortune. His circumſtances growing deſperate, and a ſtorm impending from the diſpleaſure of Claudius, he retired into Aſia, and there lived in obſcurity, as little removed from the ſtate and condition of a real exile, as he was afterwards from the ſplendour of imperial fortune. He united in his character a rare and wonderful mixture of repugnant qualities. He was affable and arrogant; addicted to pleaſure, and by fits and ſtarts a man of buſineſs. When at leiſure from affairs, he gave a looſe to his luxurious paſſions; if his intereſt required it, he came upon mankind with ſuperior talents. The miniſter was praiſed, and the private man deteſted. The art of conciliating the good will of others was his in an eminent degree. With his inferiors he knew how to ſoften authority; to his friends and equals his addreſs was courtly; and yet, with theſe attractive arts, a man ſo various was fitter to raiſe others to the imperial dignity, than to obtain it for himſelf.

The war againſt the Jews had been committed by Nero to Flavius Veſpaſian, who was then in Judæa at the head of three legions. That commander had formed no deſign, nor even a wiſh, againſt the intereſt of Galba. He ſent his ſon Titus to Rome, as will be ſeen hereafter *(a)*, with congratulations to Galba, and aſſurances of fidelity. It was not then perceived that the ſovereign power was deſtined, by the decrees of Heaven, for Veſpaſian and his two ſons. After his acceſſion, portents and prodigies, and the reſponſes of oracles, were better underſtood.

XI. Ægypt,

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XI. ÆGYPT, and the forces ſtationed there to bridle the ſeveral provinces, were, according to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, conſided to the Roman knights, who exerciſed all the powers of the ancient kings. In order to keep in ſubjection a country difficult of acceſs, and at the ſame time a granary of corn; where the genius of the people *(a)*, deeply tinged with ſuperſtition, was ever wavering, and prone to change; where there was no plan of regular government, and, by conſequence, no reſpect paid to the civil magiſtrate; it was the policy of Auguſtus to retain the adminiſtration, like a myſtery of ſtate, in his own hands, and under his own cabinet council. In the preſent juncture *(b)*, Tiberius Alexander, a native of the country, was entruſted with the government of the province.

Africa, and the legions quartered there, were, ſince the murder of Clodius Macer, grown indifferent to all modes of government. Having experienced the authority of an inferior maſter, they were willing to ſubmit to any prince. The two Mauritanias *(c)*, Rætia, Noricum, and Thrace, with the places committed to the care of imperial procurators, had no fixed principle, no hatred, and no affection, but what was inſpired by the force neareſt at hand. They were always united in opinion with the ſtrongeſt. The provinces, which were left naked and defenceleſs, and Italy in particular, were open to the firſt invader, the ready prey of any conqueror. Such was the ſituation of the Roman world, when Servius Galba, in his ſecond conſulſhip, and Titus Vinius, his colleague, began their year; a fatal year, which brought them both to a tragic cataſtrophe, and the commonwealth to the brink of ruin.

XII. IN a few days after the calends of January, letters arrived at Rome from Pompeius Propinquus, the procurator of

Belgic Gaul *(a)*, with intelligence of a revolt in Upper Germany. The legions in that quarter, diſregarding the obligation of their oath, ſhook off all obedience, and demanded another emperor; willing, however, to ſoften the violence of their proceedings, and, for that purpoſe, to leave the choice to the judgment of the ſenate, and the Roman people. The uſe that Galba made of this intelligence was, to haſten the adoption of a ſucceſſor; a point which he had for ſome time revolved in his mind, and often diſcuſſed with his ſecret adviſers. During the few months of his reign, no ſubject had ſo much engroſſed the public converſation. The people, always politicians, and fond of ſettling ſtate-affairs, gave a looſe to their uſual freedom of ſpeech; and, beſides, an emperor on the verge of life made it natural to advert to the ſucceſſion. Few were able to think with judgment, and fewer had the virtue to feel for the public good. Private views and party connections ſuggeſted various candidates. Different factions were formed, and all intrigued, caballed, and clamoured, as their hopes or fears directed. Titus Vinius did not eſcape the notice of the public. He grew in power every day, and the hatred of the people kept pace with his riſing grandeur. In the ſudden elevation of Galba, this man and his adherents, with all the creatures of the court, ſaw their opportunity to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of their country; and, encouraged as they were by the facility of a weak, a credulous, and ſuperannuated prince, they were reſolved to loſe no time. In ſuch a period the temptation was great, and guilt might hope to plunder with impunity.

XIII. The whole ſovereign power was in the hands of Titus Vinius, the conſul, and Cornelius Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards. A third favourite ſoon appeared on the political ſtage, with a degree of influence not inferior to either of the

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former. The name of this man was Icelus *(a)*, one of the emperor's freedmen, lately created a Roman knight, and, to ſuit his new dignity, honoured with the name of Martianus. The three confidential miniſters were ſoon at variance. They claſhed in intereſt, and, in all inferior tranſactions, drew different ways; but in the choice of a ſucceſſor they were divided into two factions. Vinius declared for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelus joined in oppoſition to that meaſure, not ſo much to favour a friend of their own, as to thwart the deſigns of a rival. Galba was not to learn the cloſe connection that ſubſiſted between Vinius and Otho. The buſy politicians, who love to pry into every thing, and divulge all they know, and all they think, had circulated a report that reached the ear of the emperor. Vinius had a daughter, at that time a widow; Otho was unmarried, and a match between them would make the miniſter the father-in-law of his future emperor.

Galba reſolved to act with caution, and with due regard to the public welfare. He ſaw the ſovereign power wreſted out of the hands of Nero, but wreſted in vain, if transferred to a man like Otho; a ſtranger, from his earlieſt days, to every fair purſuit, and in the prime of manhood diſtinguiſhed by nothing but riot and debauchery. It was his taſte for luxury and vicious pleaſures that firſt recommended him to the notice of Nero. He vied with his maſter in all kinds of diſſipation, and, in conſequence of that connection, became the worthy depoſitary, to whom the prince entruſted the care of his dearly beloved Poppæa *(b)*, till ſuch time as Octavia was, by a divorce, removed out of the way. But Otho's fidelity ſoon became ſuſpected. Nero's jealouſy could not bear a rival. He ſent his favourite companion to govern the province of Luſitania, and, under that pretext, baniſhed him from Rome. It is true that Otho, in the

courſe of his adminiſtration, gained, by his mild and courtly manners, no ſmall degree of popularity. In the late revolution, he was the firſt to eſpouſe the intereſt of Galba. While the war laſted, he continued an active partiſan, and, by his ſplendid appearance, did no ſmall credit to the cauſe. Hence his hopes of being called to the ſucceſſion. The ſoldiers favoured his pretenſions, and the creatures of Nero's court promiſed themſelves, under a ſovereign ſo nearly reſembling their maſter, a return of the ſame vices.

XIV. GALBA ſaw, with deep anxiety, a ſtorm gathering in Germany, and where it would burſt he could not foreſee. Of Vitellius and his deſigns no certain account arrived. The revolt of the legions filled him with apprehenſions, and he repoſed no confidence in the prætorian guards. The nomination of a ſucceſſor ſeemed, in ſuch a criſis, to be the beſt expedient; and for that purpoſe he held a cabinet council. Beſides Vinius and Laco, he thought proper to ſummon Marius Celſus, conſul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, the præfect of the city. Having prefaced the buſineſs in a ſhort ſpeech concerning his age and infirmities, he ſent for Piſo Licinianus *(a)*; whether of his own free choice, or at the inſtigation of Laco, remains uncertain. That miniſter had lived in friendſhip with Piſo. He contracted an intimacy with him at the houſe of Rubellius Plautus, though he had now the addreſs to conceal that connection, affecting, with public motives, to recommend a ſtranger. To this conduct, the fair eſteem, in which Piſo was held, gave an appearance of ſincerity. Piſo was the ſon of Marcus Craſſus and Scribonia, both of illuſtrious deſcent. His aſpect was grave, and his deportment formal; ſuch as gave an idea of primitive manners. By the candid and impartial he was called ſtrict and ſevere; by his enemies, moroſe and ſullen. With great ex-

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cellencies he had a mixture of thoſe qualities that are often the ſhades of eminent virtue; but thoſe very ſhades, which ſeemed to others too dark and gloomy, in the eyes of Galba were the ſtrokes of character, that gave Piſo a caſt of antiquity, and made him worthy to be the adopted heir to the empire.

XV. GALBA, we are told, taking Piſo by the hand, addreſſed him in the following manner: "If the adoption which I am "now to make, were, like the act of a private citizen, to be ac- "knowledged, as the law *Curiata (a)* directs, in the preſence of "the pontiffs, I ſhould derive honour to myſelf from an alliance "with a perſon deſcended from the great Pompey and Marcus "Craſſus: and, in return, you would add to the nobility of "your own family the luſtre of the Sulpician and Lutatian "name. I now addreſs you in a more exalted character. It "is the emperor of Rome that ſpeaks. Called by the conſent "of gods and men to that high ſtation, I am now determined "in my choice by your rare accompliſhments, and the love I "feel for my country. I invite you to the imperial dignity; "that dignity for which our anceſtors led armies to the field, "and which I myſelf obtained in battle. Without your ſtir I "now make to you a voluntary offer. For this proceeding I "have before me the example of Auguſtus, who aſſociated to "himſelf, firſt his ſiſter's ſon Marcellus, and then Agrippa his "ſon-in-law, his grandſons afterwards, and, finally, Tiberius, the "ſon of his wife. Auguſtus, indeed, looked for an heir in his "own family; I chooſe in the boſom of the commonwealth. "If, upon ſuch an occaſion, I could liſten to private affection, "I have a numerous train of relations, and I have companions "in war. But it was not from motives of pride that I accepted "the ſovereignty of the ſtate: ambition had no ſhare in my "conduct. I brought with me to the ſeat of government an "upright

" upright intention; and that I now act on the ſame principle, " may be fairly ſeen, when, in my preſent choice, I poſtpone " not only my own relations, but even thoſe of your own fa- " mily. You have a brother, in point of nobility your equal; " by priority of birth your ſuperior; and, if your merit did not " ſuperſede him, a man worthy of the higheſt elevation.

" You are now at the time of life, at which the paſſions ſub- " ſide. Your former conduct requires no apology. Fortune " has hitherto *(b)* frowned upon you: you muſt now beware " of her ſmiles. Proſperity tries the human heart with the " deepeſt probe, and draws forth the hidden character. We " ſtruggle with adverſity, but ſucceſs diſarms us. I truſt, how- " ever, that you will carry with you, to the higheſt ſtation, the " candour of your mind, your good faith, your independent " ſpirit, and your conſtancy in friendſhip; virtues that exalt and " dignify the human character: but the arts of inſidious men will " lay ſiege to your beſt qualities, and undermine them all. Diſſi- " mulation will deceive you; flattery will find admiſſion to your " heart; and ſelf-intereſt, the bane of all true affection, will lay " ſnares to ſeduce your integrity. To-day you and I converſe " without diſguiſe, in terms of plain ſimplicity: how will others " deal with us? Their reſpect will be paid to our fortunes, not " to ourſelves. To talk the language of ſincerity to a prince, " and guide him by honeſt counſels, is a laborious taſk: to play " the hypocrite requires no more than to humour his inclina- " tions, whatever they are. It is the grimace of friendſhip: the " heart has no ſhare in the buſineſs.

XVI. " If the mighty fabric of this great empire could ſub- " ſiſt on any other foundation than that of a monarchy, the " glory of reſtoring the old republic ſhould this day be mine.

" But,

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"But, at my age, all that remains for me is to bequeath to the "people an able ſucceſſor: your youth may give them a vir- "tuous prince. Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, we "were all the property of one family. By hereditary right the "Roman world was theirs. The prince is now elective, and "the freedom of choice is liberty. The Julian and the Claudian "race are both extinct, and virtue may now ſucceed by adop- "tion. To be born the ſon of a prince is the reſult of chance; "mankind conſider it in no higher light. The method of "adoption allows time to deliberate, and the public voice will "ſerve as a guide to direct the judgment of the emperor. Let "Nero be for ever before your eyes: proud of his long line "of anceſtors, and warm with the blood of the Cæſars, he did "not fall by the revolt of Vindex, at the head of a province "naked and diſarmed; nor was he depoſed by me, who had "only one legion under my command: his own vices, his own "cruelty hurled him from his throne, no more to trample on "the necks of mankind. Of a prince condemned by a public "ſentence, there was till then no example.

"As to myſelf, raiſed as I was by the events of war, and "called to the ſovereignty by the voice of a willing people, I "know what I have to expect: envy and malice may purſue "me, but the glory of doing good ſhall ſtill be mine. After "the ſtorm that lately ſhook the empire, you will not wonder "that a perfect calm has not ſucceeded; and, if two legions "waver in their duty, your courage muſt not be diſconcerted. "My reign did not begin in the halcyon days of peace. Old "age, at preſent, is the objection urged againſt me: but when it "is known whom I have adopted, I ſhall appear young in "my ſucceſſor. Nero is ſtill regretted by the vile and profli- "gate: that good men may not regret him, it will be ours to "provide

"provide by our future conduct. More than I have said the "time will not admit; if I have made a proper choice, I have "discharged my duty. One rule, however, there is worthy of "your consideration. In all questions of good and evil, ask "yourself, when you was a subject, what did you expect from "the prince, and what did you wish him to avoid? It is not at "Rome, as in despotic governments, where one family towers "above mankind, and their subjects groan in bondage. You "are to reign over the Roman people; a people whom no ex-"treme will suit; when in full possession of liberty, enemies "to their own happiness; when reduced to slavery, impatient "of the yoke." To this effect Galba delivered himself, little doubting but that he was then creating a prince: the courtiers considered it as a complete legal act, and paid their homage to their future sovereign.

XVII. During the whole of this solemn transaction, Piso, we are told, never lost the even tenor of his mind. From the first moment all eyes were fixed upon him; yet, on his part, no emotion was seen, no symptom of joy, no surprise, no confusion. He addressed the emperor, now his father, in terms of profound respect, and spoke of himself with reserve and modesty. His mien and countenance never betrayed the smallest inward alteration. He behaved with the apathy of a man who deserved to reign, but did not desire it. The next consideration was, in what place the adoption should be announced, in the forum before an assembly of the people, in the senate, or in the camp. The latter was thought most eligible: the army would feel the compliment; the affections of the soldiers, though of little value, if purchased by bribery and low intrigue, are, notwithstanding, when they are gained by fair and honourable means, always of moment, and never to be neglected. Meanwhile, the

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the populace ruſhing in crowds from every quarter, ſurrounded the palace, burning with impatience for the important news, and growing ſtill more eager, in proportion to the delay of the profound politicians, who affected an air of myſtery, when the ſecret had already tranſpired.

XVIII. On the fourth of the ides of January the weather was uncommonly tempeſtuous, accompanied with heavy rains, thunder and lightning, and all the uproar of the elements, which uſually alarms the ſuperſtition of the multitude. In ancient times this phenomenon would have been ſufficient *(a)* to diſſolve all public aſſemblies: but Galba was not to be deterred from his purpoſe. He proceeded to the camp, regardleſs of prodigies, which he conſidered as the effect of natural cauſes; or, it may be, that what is fixed by fate cannot by human prudence be avoided. A vaſt conflux of ſoldiers aſſembled in the camp. Galba addreſſed them in a ſhort ſpeech, ſuch as becomes the imperial dignity. He told them that, in conformity to the example of Auguſtus, and the practice of the army, where each ſoldier chooſes his companion in war *(b)*, he had adopted Piſo for his ſon. Fearing that his ſilence on the ſubject of the German revolt might tend to magnify the danger, he added, that the fourth and eighteenth legions were, by the artifice of a few factious leaders, incited to tumult and diſorder; but their violence went no further than words, and he had no doubt but they would ſoon be ſenſible of their error. Such was his plain and manly language. He added no flattering expreſſions, no ſoothing hopes of a donative. The tribunes, notwithſtanding, and the centurions and ſoldiers, who ſtood neareſt to his perſon, raiſed a ſhout of approbation. Through the reſt of the lines a deep and ſullen ſilence prevailed. The men ſaw, with diſcontent, that, on the eve of a war, they were deprived of thoſe

gratuities, which had been granted in time of peace, and were now become the ſoldier's right. The emperor, beyond all doubt, had it in his power to ſecure the affections of the ſoldiers. From a parſimonious old man the ſmalleſt mark of liberality would have made an impreſſion. But in an age that could no longer bear the virtues of the old republic, rigid œconomy was out of ſeaſon, and, by conſequence, the worſt of policy.

XIX. From the camp Galba proceeded to the ſenate. His ſpeech, like that to the ſoldiers, was ſhort, unadorned, and ſimple. Piſo delivered himſelf with grace and elegance. The fathers heard him with attention; ſome with real affection, and others, who in their hearts oppoſed his intereſt, with overacted zeal; while the neutral and indifferent (by far the greateſt number) made a tender of their ſervices, all with private views, regardleſs of their country. This was the only public act in which Piſo appeared. In the time that followed between his adoption and his death (an interval of four days) he neither ſaid nor did any thing that merits the attention of hiſtory.

Affairs in Germany began to wear a gloomy aſpect. Meſſengers upon the heels of one another came poſting to Rome; and in a city, where men ſtood athirſt for news, and ſwallowed the worſt with avidity, nothing was ſeen but hurry and confuſion. The fathers reſolved to treat by their deputies with the German legions. In a ſecret council it was propoſed that Piſo ſhould ſet out at the head of the embaſſy, that the army might have before their eyes the authority of the ſenate, and the majeſty of the empire. It was further thought adviſable that Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards, ſhould accompany the deputation; but he declined the office. Nor was the choice of the ambaſſadors eaſily arranged. The whole was left to Galba's

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judgment, and he executed it with caprice and ſhameful indeciſion. Men were appointed, and removed; others were ſubſtituted, and changed again; ſome excuſed themſelves; numbers, as fear or ambition prompted, made intereſt for the preference, or for permiſſion to remain at home.

XX. The means of raiſing money came next under conſideration. Various expedients were propoſed, but none appeared ſo juſt as that of making repriſals on ſuch, as by their rapacity impoveriſhed the commonwealth. Nero had laviſhed in penſions and donations above two-and-twenty million of ſeſterces. The men who had enriched themſelves by this wild profuſion, were allowed to retain a tenth part *(a)* of the plunder, and condemned to refund the reſt. But their tenth part was no longer in their poſſeſſion. Prodigal no leſs of the public money than of their own, they had ſquandered all in riot and debauchery. They had neither lands, nor funds of any kind. The wreck of their fortunes conſiſted of little more than the utenſils of luxury, vice, and folly. To enforce a reſumption of all enormous grants, a court of commiſſioners was eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of thirty Roman knights. This tribunal, odious on account of its novelty, and ſtill more ſo for its number of officers, and the ſpirit of cabal that prevailed in every part of the buſineſs, was found vexatious and oppreſſive. The auctioneer planted his ſtaff in every ſtreet; the public crier was heard; ſales and confiſcations were ſeen; a general ferment ſpread through the city. And yet this ſcene of diſtreſs was beheld with pleaſure. The men, who had been pillaged by Nero, ſaw the minions of that emperor reduced to a level with themſelves. About the ſame time ſeveral tribunes were diſcharged from the ſervice. In that number were Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naſo, both of the prætorian guards; Æmilius Pacenſis, from the city cohorts, and

and Julius Fronto, from the night-watch. But this, ſo far from being a remedy, ſerved only to alarm and irritate the reſt of the officers. They concluded that all were equally ſuſpected, and that a timid court, not daring at once to go the length of its reſentment, would proceed to cull them out man by man.

XXI. OTHO, in the mean time, felt every motive that could inflame ambition. In quiet times he had nothing before him but deſpair; trouble and confuſion were his only ſource of hope. His luxury was too great for the revenue of a prince *(a)*, and his fortune was ſunk to the loweſt ebb, below the condition of a private man. He hated Galba, and he ſaw Piſo with an eye of envy. To theſe incentives he added real or imaginary fears for his own perſonal ſafety, and in thoſe fears he found new motives for rebellion. "He had felt the weight of Nero's diſpleaſure; and muſt he now "wait for a ſecond Luſitania? Was he to expect, under colour "of friendſhip, another honourable baniſhment? The man, whom "the public voice has named for the ſucceſſion, is ſure to be ſuſ-"pected by the reigning prince. It was that jealouſy that ruined "his intereſt with a ſuperannuated emperor; and the ſame nar-"row motive would act with greater force on the mind of a young "man *(b)*, by nature harſh, and in his exile grown fierce and "ſavage. Otho was, perhaps, already doomed to deſtruction. "But the authority of Galba was on the decline, and that of Piſo "not yet eſtabliſhed. This was, therefore, the time to ſtrike "a ſudden blow. The convulſion of ſtates, and the change "of maſters, afford the true ſeaſon for courage and vigorous enter-"priſe. In ſuch a period, when inactivity is certain ruin, and "bold temerity may be crowned with ſucceſs, to linger in doubt, "might be the ruin of his cauſe. To die is the common lot of "humanity. In the grave, the only diſtinction lies between thoſe, "who leave no trace behind, and the heroic ſpirits, who tranſ-

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" mit their names to poſterity. And ſince the ſame end awaits " alike the guilty and the innocent, the man of enterpriſe will " provoke his fate, and cloſe the ſcene with glory."

XXII. THE mind of Otho was not, like his body *(a)*, ſoft and effeminate. His ſlaves and freedmen lived in a courſe of luxury, unknown to private families. They flattered their maſter's taſte; they painted to him in lively colours the joys of Nero's court, and the perpetual round of gay delights, in which he had paſſed his days; they repreſented to him adultery without controul, the choice of wives and concubines, and ſcenes of revelry ſcarcely known to Aſiatic princes. Theſe, if he dared nobly, they repreſented to him as his own; if he remained inactive, as the prize of others. The judicial aſtrologers added a ſpur to inflame his ardour. They announced great events, and to Otho a year of glory. Society has, perhaps, never known a more dangerous peſt than this race of impoſtors, who have been ever ready, with vile infuſions, to poiſon the hearts of princes, and to ſtimulate ambition to its ruin; a ſet of perfidious men, proſcribed by law, and yet, in defiance of all law, cheriſhed in ſuch a city as Rome.

It was with this crew of fortune-tellers that Poppæa held conſultations, when ſhe aſpired to the imperial bed. It happened that one of theſe pretenders to præternatural knowledge, a man of the name of Ptolemy, accompanied Otho into Spain. He had there foretold that Otho would ſurvive the reign of Nero; and, the event giving credit to his art, he took upon him to promiſe greater things. He ſaw Galba on the verge of life, and Otho in the vigour of his days. From that circumſtance, and the currents of popular rumour, that filled the city of Rome, this man drew his conjectures, and ventured to announce Otho's elevation to the imperial dignity. Theſe bodings were welcome to the ear of Otho:

Otho: he conſidered them as the effect of ſcience, and believed the whole, with that credulity, which, in a mind inflamed with ambition, ſtands ready to receive the marvellous for reality. From this time, Ptolemy was the chief actor in the dark ſcenes that followed. He inſpired the plan of treaſon, and Otho embraced it with impetuous ardour. The heart, that has formed the wiſh, and conceived the project, has ſeldom any ſcruple about the means.

XXIII. WHETHER this bold conſpiracy was then firſt imagined, or prepared and ſettled long before, cannot now be known. It is, however, certain that Otho had been in the habit of courting the affections of the army, and this, either with a view of being called to the ſucceſſion, or, if not, with a deſign to ſeize it by force. He omitted no opportunity to ingratiate himſelf with the common men; on their march, in the lines, at their quarters, he made it his buſineſs to converſe freely with all; he accoſted the veterans by name, and, remembering their ſervice under Nero, called them his brother-ſoldiers; he renewed his acquaintance with ſome; he enquired after others, and with his intereſt and his purſe was ready to be their friend. In theſe diſcourſes he took care to mingle complaints, and, with half-hinted malignity, to glance at Galba. He omitted nothing that could fill the vulgar mind with diſcontent. The ſoldiers were prepared to receive the worſt impreſſions. Fatiguing marches, proviſions ill ſupplied, and a plan of rigorous diſcipline lately revived, turned their hearts againſt the reigning prince. They had known gentler times, when, at their eaſe, they traverſed the lakes of Campania, and went on ſailing parties to the cities of Achaia; but now the ſcene was changed to the Alps, the Pyrenéans, and long tracts of country, where they were to march under a load of armour ſcarce ſupportable.

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XXIV. While the minds of the ſoldiers were, by theſe means, thrown into violent agitations, Mævius Pudens, a near relation of Tigellinus, added fuel to the flame. Whoever was known to be of a light and verſatile diſpoſition, in diſtreſs for money, or fond of public commotions, this man attracted to his party. He ſapped his way with a degree of dexterity, as unperceived as it was ſucceſsful. As often as Galba was entertained at Otho's houſe, he diſtributed to the cohort on duty a hundred ſeſterces for every man, under colour of an allowance for their uſual convivial party. This generoſity, which paſſed under the name of a largeſs, was increaſed by the ſecret, but well applied, bribery of Otho; who became at laſt a corruptor ſo bold and open, that, when Cocceius Proculus, a ſoldier of the body-guard, was engaged in a litigation with one of his neighbours about the boundaries of their reſpective grounds, Otho bought the whole eſtate of the adverſe party, and conveyed it to the ſoldier as a preſent. And yet theſe practices gave no jealouſy to the commander of the prætorian bands. To penetrate dark tranſactions was ſo far from being his talent, that he could not ſee what eſcaped no eye but his own.

XXV. Otho took into his councils one of his freedmen, by name Onomaſtus. This man was choſen to conduct the enterpriſe. He ſelected for his accomplices, Barbius Proculus, whoſe duty it was to bear the watch-word to the night-guard, and one Veturius, his choſen aſſiſtant. Otho ſounded them apart; and finding them fit inſtruments for his purpoſes, ſubtle, dark, and reſolute, he loaded them both with preſents, and diſmiſſed them with a ſum of money, to be employed in bribing the reſt of the guards. In this manner, two ſoldiers undertook to diſpoſe of the Roman empire, and what they undertook, they dared to execute. A few only were conſcious of the plot. The reſt, though held in

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ſuſpenſe, were managed with ſuch dexterity, that they ſtood in readineſs, as ſoon as the blow was ſtruck, to ſecond the conſpirators. The ſoldiers of note were told, that having been diſtinguiſhed by Nymphidius, they lived in danger, ſuſpected, and expoſed to the reſentment of Galba. The loſs of the donative, ſo often promiſed, and ſtill withheld, was the topic enforced, to irritate the minds of the common men. Numbers lamented the loſs of Nero, and the agreeable vices of that diſſolute reign. All were averſe from the new plan of diſcipline, and the idea of a further reform diffuſed a general terror.

XXVI. The ſpirit of diſaffection ſpread, as it were by contagion, to the legions and the auxiliary troops, all ſufficiently agitated by the revolt in Germany. The vile and profligate were ready for any miſchief, and among the few of ſober conduct, inactivity was no better than treaſon in diſguiſe. The conſpirators ſaw their advantage, inſomuch that, on the day enſuing the ides of January, they formed a reſolution to take Otho under their care, as he returned from ſupper, and, without further delay, proclaim him emperor. This project, however, did not take effect. In the darkneſs of the night, and the confuſion inſeparable from it, no man could anſwer for the conſequences. The city was full of ſoldiers; and among men inflamed with liquor, no union, no concerted meaſure, could be expected. The traitors deſiſted from their purpoſe, but with no public motive. The general welfare made no impreſſion on men, who had conſpired to imbrue their hands in the blood of their ſovereign. What they chiefly feared was, that the firſt who offered himſelf to the troops from Germany and Pannonia, might by thoſe ſtrangers, and in the tumult of the dark, be miſtaken for Otho, and ſaluted by the title of emperor. The plot, thus checked for the preſent, began to tranſpire, and muſt have been by various circumſtances brought

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to light, had not the chief conſpirators laboured to ſuppreſs all appearances of lurking treaſon. Some facts, however, reached the ears of Galba; but the folly of Laco explained every thing away, and, by conſequence, the emperor was lulled into ſecurity. The præfect of the guards had no knowledge of the military character. Nothing could open the eyes of a man, who oppoſed every meaſure, however excellent, which did not originate with himſelf. By the perverſity of his nature, he was always at variance with talents and ſuperior judgment.

XXVII. On the eighteenth day before the calends of February, Galba aſſiſted at a ſacrifice in the temple of Apollo. In the midſt of the ceremony, Umbricius the augur, after inſpecting the entrails of the victims, announced impending treaſon, and a lurking enemy within the walls of Rome. Otho, who ſtood near the emperor, heard this prediction, but interpreted it in his own favour, pleaſed with omens that promiſed ſo well to his cauſe. In that moment, Onomaſtus came to inform him, that his builders and ſurveyors were waiting to talk with him on buſineſs. This, as had been concerted, was a ſignal, that the conſpirators were ready to throw off the maſk, and ſtrike the deciſive blow. Otho quitted the temple, having firſt told ſuch as wondered at his ſudden departure, that, being on the point of purchaſing certain farm-houſes, not in good repair, he had appointed workmen to examine the buildings before he concluded his bargain. Having made that feigned excuſe, he walked off, arm in arm, with his freedman; and, paſſing through the palace formerly belonging to Tiberius, went directly to the great market-place, called the Velabrum, and thence to the golden mile-pillar *(a)* near the temple of Saturn. At that place a ſmall party of the prætorian ſoldiers, in number not exceeding three-and-twenty, ſaluted him emperor. The ſight of ſuch an

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inſignificant handful of men ſtruck him with diſmay; but his partiſans drew their ſwords, and placing him in a litter *(b)*, carried him off in triumph. They were joined in their way by an equal number, ſome of them accomplices in the treaſon; others, in wonder and aſtoniſhment, hurried along by the current. The conſpirators, brandiſhing their ſwords, and rending the air with acclamations, purſued their courſe, while numbers followed in profound ſilence, determined to ſee the iſſue before they took a decided part.

XXVIII. JULIUS MARTIALIS, a military tribune, was at that time commanding officer in the camp. Amazed at a treaſon ſo bold and daring, and perhaps imagining that it extended wider, he made no attempt to oppoſe the torrent. His inactivity had the appearance of a confederacy in guilt. The reſt of the tribunes and centurions followed the ſame line of caution, in their ſolicitude for their own ſafety loſing all ſenſe of honour and of every public principle. Such, in that alarming criſis, was the diſpoſition of the camp: a few ſeditious incendiaries dared to attempt a revolution; more wiſhed to ſee it, and all were willing to acquieſce.

XXIX. GALBA, in the mean time, ignorant of all that paſſed, continued in the temple, attentive to the ſacred rites, and with his prayers fatiguing the gods of an empire now no longer his. Intelligence, at length, arrived that a ſenator (who by name no man could tell) was carried in triumph to the camp. Otho was ſoon after announced. The people in crowds ruſhed forward from every quarter, ſome repreſenting the danger greater than it was, others leſſening it, and, even in ruin, ſtill retaining their habitual flattery. A council was called. After due deliberation, it was thought adviſable to ſound the diſpo-

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ſitions of the cohort then on duty before the palace, but without the interpoſition of Galba. His authority was to be reſerved for the laſt extremity. Piſo called the men together, and, from the ſteps of the palace, addreſſed them to the following purport: "It is now, my fellow ſoldiers, the ſixth day ſince I was made "by adoption preſumptive heir to this great empire. Whether "I was called to a poſt of honour, or of danger, was more than "I could then foreſee. The offer was honourable, and I ac- "cepted it; with what advantage to my own family in parti- "cular, or to the commonwealth at large, it will be yours to "determine. For myſelf, I have nothing to fear. Trained "in the ſchool of adverſity, I now perceive that the ſmiles are "no leſs dreadful than the frowns of fortune. But for myſelf "I feel no concern: I feel for the ſituation of an aged father; "I feel for the ſenate; I feel for my country. The lot of all "three will be grievous, whether we fall this day by the hands "of aſſaſſins, or, which to a generous mind is no leſs afflicting, "find ourſelves obliged to ſhed the blood of our fellow citi- "zens. In the late revolution, it was matter of joy to all good "men, that the city was not diſcoloured with Roman blood, "and that, without civil diſcord, the reins of government "paſſed into other hands. To ſecure the ſame tranquillity "was the object of the late adoption. By that meaſure, Galba "had reaſon to think that he cloſed the ſcene of war and civil "commotion.

XXX. "I WILL neither mention the nobility of my birth, "nor claim the merit of moderation. I arrogate nothing to "myſelf. In oppoſition to Otho there is no neceſſity to call "our virtues to our aid. The vices of the man, even then, "when he was the friend, or rather the pander of Nero, were "the ruin of his country. In thoſe vices he places all his glory.

" And ſhall a life of debauchery, ſhall that effeminate air, and " that ſoft ſolicitude *(a)* for gay apparel, give an emperor to the " Roman world? They, who ſuffer profuſion to paſs for libe- " rality, will in time perceive their error. Otho may ſquander, " but to beſtow is not in his character. What think you are " the objects that now engroſs his thoughts? What are his " views? What does he aim at? Scenes of luxury, lawleſs gra- " tifications, carouſing feſtivals, and the embraces of laſcivious " women, are the imaginations of his heart. Theſe with him " are imperial pleaſures, the rights of ſovereignty. The joy " will be his: it will be yours to bluſh for your new maſter. " In the whole catalogue of thoſe daring uſurpers, who by their " crimes have riſen to power, is there an inſtance of one who " made atonement by his virtues? Is there a man who gained " an empire by iniquity, and governed it with moderation?

" Galba was raiſed by the voice of a willing people to his " preſent ſituation: his inclination, and your conſent, have added " me to the line of the Cæſars. But after all, if the common- " wealth, the ſenate, and the people, are no better than mere " empty names, yet let me aſk you, my fellow ſoldiers, will " you ſuffer a lawleſs crew to overturn the government? From " the worſt and moſt abandoned of mankind will you receive " an emperor? The legions, it is true, have at different times " mutinied againſt their generals; but your fidelity has never " been queſtioned. Nero abdicated; you did not deſert him. " He fell without your treachery. And ſhall thirty ruffians— " thirty did I ſay? Their number is leſs. Shall a wretched hand- " full of vile conſpirators, whom no man would ſuffer to vote " in the choice of a tribune or centurion, diſpoſe of the Roman " empire at their will and pleaſure? Will you eſtabliſh ſuch a " precedent? And, by eſtabliſhing it, will you become accom-

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"plices in the guilt? The example will pafs into the provinces; "confufion and anarchy will be the fatal conſequence; Galba "may fall, and I may periſh with him; but the calamities of a "civil war muſt remain for you. By murdering your prince "you may earn the wages of iniquity; but the reward of virtue "will not be leſs. Judge which is beſt, a donative for your "innocence, or a largeſs for murder and rebellion."

XXXI. DURING this harangue, the ſoldiers belonging to the guard withdrew from the place. The reſt of the cohort ſhewed no ſign of diſcontent. Without noiſe or tumult, the uſual incidents of ſedition, they diſplayed their colours according to the military cuſtom, and not, as was imagined afterwards, with a deſign to cover, by falſe appearances, a ſettled plan of treachery and revolt. Celſus Marius was ſent to uſe his influence with the forces from Illyrium, at that time encamped under the portico of Vipſanius *(a)*. Orders were likewiſe given to Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, two centurions of the firſt rank, to draw from the temple of Liberty the German ſoldiers, quartered in that place. The legion, draughted from the marines, was not to be truſted. They had ſeen, on Galba's entry into Rome, a cruel maſſacre of their comrades, and the ſurvivors, with minds exaſperated, panted for revenge. At the ſame time, Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, three military tribunes, made the beſt of their way to the prætorian camp, with an intention, while the ferment was ſtill recent, and before a general flame was kindled, to mould the minds of the men to a pacific temper. Subrius and Cetrius were repulſed with menaces. Longinus was roughly handled. The ſoldiers took away his weapons, unwilling to liſten to a man, whom they conſidered as an officer promoted out of his turn, by the favour of Galba, and, for that reaſon, faithful to his prince. The ma-

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rine legion, without heſitation, joined the prætorian malecontents. The detachment from the Illyrian army caught the infection, and obliged Celſus to retire under a ſhower of darts. The veterans from Germany remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. They had been ſent by Nero to Alexandria; but, being recalled in a ſhort time afterwards, they returned to Rome in a diſtreſſed condition, worn out with toil, and weakened by ſickneſs during their voyage. Galba attended to their wants, and, in order to recruit their ſtrength, adminiſtered ſeaſonable relief. The ſoldiers felt the generoſity of the prince, and gratitude was not yet effaced from their minds.

XXXII. The populace, in the mean time, with a crowd of ſlaves intermixed, ruſhed into the palace, demanding vengeance on the head of Otho, and his partiſans. The clamour was loud and diſſonant, like that of a rabble in the circus or amphitheatre, roaring for the public ſports, or ſome new ſpectacle. The whole was conducted without principle, without judgment, or ſincerity; and, before the cloſe of day, the ſame mouths were open to bawl for the reverſe of what they deſired in the morning. To be ready with ſhouts and vociferation, let who will be the reigning prince, has been in all ages the zeal of the vulgar. Galba, in the mean time, balanced between two oppoſite opinions. Titus Vinius was for his remaining in the palace. "The ſlaves," he ſaid, "might be armed, and all the avenues "ſecured. The prince ſhould by no means expoſe himſelf to a "frantic mob. Due time ſhould be allowed for the ſeditious to "repent, and for good men to form a plan of union, and con-"cert their meaſures. Crimes ſucceed by hurry and ſudden diſ-"patch: honeſt counſels gain vigour by delay. Should it be "hereafter proper to ſally forth, that expedient would be ſtill "in reſerve; but if once hazarded, the error would be ſeen too "late.

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"late. The prince, in that caſe, would be in the power of his "enemies."

XXXIII. It was argued on the other hand, "that the exi-"gence called for vigorous meaſures. Before the conſpiracy of "a few traitors gained an acceſſion of ſtrength, one brave exer-"tion might prove deciſive. Confront the danger, and Otho "will ſhrink back with terror and diſmay. It is not long ſince "he went forth by ſtealth. He has been joined by a few in-"cendiaries, and hurried away to a camp; where no plan is "ſettled; but now, while Galba's friends remain inactive, he "aſſumes the ſovereign, and has time to learn how to play his "part. And ſhall we linger here in cold debate, till the uſurper, "having maſtered the camp, comes forth to invade the forum, "and, under the eye of a lawful prince, aſcends the capitol? "In the mean time, muſt our valiant emperor remain trembling "in his palace, while his warlike friends barricade the doors, "preparing, with heroic reſolution, to ſtand a ſiege? But, it "ſeems, the ſlaves are to be armed; and they, no doubt, will "render effectual ſervice, eſpecially if we neglect the people now "ready to ſupport our cauſe, and ſuffer their indignation to "evaporate without ſtriking a blow. What is diſhonourable is "always dangerous. If we muſt fall, let us bravely meet our "fate. Mankind will applaud our valour, and Otho, the author "of our ruin, will be the object of public deteſtation." Vinius maintained his former opinion. Laco oppoſed him with warmth, and even with violent menaces. In this Icelus was the ſecret prompter. That favourite hated the conſul, and, in a moment big with danger, choſe to gratify a little and a narrow ſpirit at the expence of the emperor and the public.

XXXIV. Galba adopted what appeared to him the moſt ſpecious

ſpecious and moſt prudent advice. Piſo, notwithſtanding, was ſent forward to the camp. The preſence of a young man of high expectation, and lately called to the firſt honours of the ſtate, might give a turn to the paſſions of the army. He was beſides conſidered as the enemy of Vinius. If, in fact, he did not hate him, the enemies of the miniſter wiſhed it, and malice, imputed to the mind of man, is eaſily believed to be a natural paſſion. Piſo was hardly gone forth, when a rumour prevailed that Otho was ſlain in the camp. The report at firſt was vague and uncertain, but, like all important lies, gathered as it went, and grew into credit. It was confirmed by men, who averred that they were eye-witneſſes on the ſpot, and ſaw the blow given. The tale was welcome to a great many, and the credulous ſwallowed it without further enquiry. It was afterwards thought to be a political lie, framed by Otho's friends, who mingled in the crowd in order to entice Galba from his palace.

XXXV. The city reſounded with acclamations. Not only the vulgar and ignorant multitude were tranſported beyond all bounds, but the knights and ſenators were hurried away with the torrent; they forgot their fears; they ruſhed to the emperor's preſence; they complained that the puniſhment of treaſon was taken out of their hands. The men, who, as it appeared ſoon after, were the moſt likely to ſhrink from danger, diſplayed their zeal with oſtentation; laviſh of words, yet cowards in their hearts. No man knew that Otho was ſlain, yet all averred it as a fact. In this ſituation, wanting certain intelligence, but deceived by his courtiers, Galba determined to go forth from his palace. He called for his armour. The weight was too much for his feeble frame, and, in the throng that gathered round him, finding himſelf overpowered, he deſired to be placed in a litter. Before he left the palace, Julius Atticus, a ſoldier of the body guard,

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guard accoſted him with a bloody ſword in his hand, crying aloud, "In me you ſee the ſlayer of Otho: it was I that killed him." Galba calmly anſwered *(a)*, Who gave you orders? Such was the ſpirit of the man, even in the laſt extremity, ſtill determined to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers; by their inſolence undiſmayed, by their flattery never ſoftened.

XXXVI. MEANWHILE, the prætorian guards threw off the maſk, and with one voice declared for Otho. They ranged themſelves in a body round his perſon, and, in the ardour of their zeal, placed him, amidſt the ſtandards and eagles, on the very tribunal where, a little before, ſtood the golden ſtatue *(a)* of Galba. The tribunes and centurions were not ſuffered to approach. The common ſoldiers, having no kind of confidence in their officers, gave the word to watch the motions of all in any rank or command. The camp reſounded with ſhouts and mutual exhortations, not with that faint-hearted zeal which draws from the mob of Rome their feeble acclamations, but with one mind, one general impulſe, all concurred in ſupport of their new emperor. The prætorians were almoſt frantic with joy. They embraced their comrades as they ſaw them advancing forward; they claſped their hands; they led them to the tribunal; they repeated the military oath *(b)*, and adminiſtered it to all. They recommended the prince of their own choice to the affections of the men, and the men, in their turn, to the favour of the prince. Otho, on his part, omitted nothing that could conciliate the affections of the multitude. He paid his court to the rabble with his hands outſtretched, bowing lowly down, and, in order to be emperor, crouching like a ſlave. The marine legion did not heſitate to take the oath of fidelity. By that event Otho felt himſelf inſpired with uncommon ardour. Having hitherto tampered with the ſoldiers man by man, he

judged right to addreſs them in a body. He took his ſtation on the rampart of the camp, and ſpoke to the following effect:

XXXVII. "In what light, my fellow ſoldiers, ſhall I now "conſider myſelf? In what character muſt I addreſs you? A "private man I cannot call myſelf, for you have beſtowed upon "me the title of prince: but can I aſſume that title, while ano- "ther is ſtill in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power? In what de- "ſcription you yourſelves are to be claſſed, is to me matter of "doubt; and muſt remain ſo, till the queſtion is decided, Whe- "ther you have in your camp the emperor of Rome, or a "public enemy? You have heard the cry that has gone forth: "the ſame voice that demands vengeance on me, calls aloud "for your deſtruction. With my life your fate is interwoven. "We muſt live or periſh together. There is no alternative. "The humanity of Galba is well known to us all. Perhaps, "even while I ſpeak, he has pronounced our doom. To yield "to the advice of his friends, will be an eaſy taſk to him, who "without a requeſt, of his own free will, in cold blood, could "give to the edge of the ſword ſo many thouſand innocent ſol- "diers, all deſtroyed in one inhuman maſſacre. My heart re- "coils with horror, when I reflect on the diſaſtrous day, when "he made his public entry into the city. After receiving the "ſubmiſſion of the ſoldiers, with unheard-of treachery he or- "dered the whole body to be decimated *(a)*; and, in the view "of the people, exhibited a ſcene of blood and horror. Theſe "are the exploits of Galba, and this his only victory. With "theſe inauſpicious omens he entered the city of Rome, and "what has been ſince the glory of his reign? Obultronius Sa- "binus and Cornelius Marcellus have been murdered in Spain; "Betuus Chilo in Gaul; Fonteius Capito in Germany; and "Clodius Macer in Africa. Add to theſe Cingonius Varro,

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" butchered on his march, Turpilianus in the heart of the city, " and Nymphidius in the camp. Is there a province, is there " in any part of the empire a ſingle camp, which he has not " defiled with blood? This, he will tell you, is a reform of the " army. In his language, murder is a legal remedy: what " all good men agree to call a deed of barbarity, paſſes with " him for a correction of abuſes. Under ſpecious names he " confounds the nature of things: cruelty is juſtice, avarice is " œconomy, and maſſacre is military diſcipline. Since the death " of Nero, not more than ſeven months have elapſed; and, in " that time, Icelus his freedman has amaſſed, by plunder, more " enormous wealth, than the Polycleti *(b)*, the Vatinii, the Elii, " and the Haloti were able to do in the whole courſe of that " emperor's reign. Even Titus Vinius, if he himſelf had ſeized " the empire, would have had the grace to bluſh at ſuch enor- " mities; nor ſhould we have groaned under ſuch a load of op- " preſſion. Though no higher than a private citizen, he plun- " ders without remorſe; he ſeizes our property, as if we were " his ſlaves; and he deſpiſes us as the ſervants of another " maſter. His houſe alone *(c)* contains wealth ſufficient to diſ- " charge the donative every day promiſed, but promiſed merely " to inſult you.

XXXVIII. " That your hopes of better times may never " ſucceed, Galba has taken care, by his choice of a ſucceſſor, " to entail upon you endleſs miſery. He has adopted a man, " from whom you can have nothing to expect; a man recalled " from baniſhment, in his temper dark and gloomy, hardened " in avarice, the counterpart of the emperor himſelf. You re- " member, my fellow ſoldiers, the day on which that adoption " was made; a day deformed with ſtorms and tempeſts, when " the warring elements announced the awful diſpleaſure of the " gods.

" gods. The ſenate and the people are now of one mind. " They depend upon your valour. It is your generous ardour " that muſt give vigour and energy to our preſent enterpriſe. " Without your aid, the beſt deſigns muſt prove abortive. It " is not to a war, nor even to danger, that I am now to conduct " you: the armies of Rome are on our ſide. The ſingle cohort " remaining with Galba is compoſed of citizens, not of ſoldiers; " they are gowned, not armed; they do not ſtand forth in his " defence; they detain him as their priſoner. When they ſee " you advancing in firm array, and when my ſignal is given, " the only ſtruggle will be, who ſhall eſpouſe my cauſe with " the greateſt ardour. The time forbids all dull delay: we have " undertaken bravely, but it is the iſſue that muſt juſtify the " meaſure, and crown us with applauſe." Having cloſed his harangue, he ordered the magazine of arms to be thrown open. The ſoldiers ſeized their weapons; they paid no regard to military rules; no diſtinction was obſerved; the prætorians, the legions, and the auxiliaries crowded together, and ſhields and helmets were ſnatched up in a tumultuary manner. No tribune, no centurion was allowed to give orders. Each man was his own commanding officer, while the friends of diſcipline ſtood aſtoniſhed at the ſcene of wild confuſion. The evil-minded ſaw with pleaſure that the regulars were offended, and in that ſentiment found a new motive to increaſe the diſorder.

XXXIX. The number of the rebels increaſed every moment, and their noiſe and clamour reached the city of Rome. Piſo did not think it adviſable to proceed to the camp. He met Galba, who had left the palace, on his way to the forum. Marius Celſus had already brought alarming tidings. Some adviſed the emperor to return to his palace; others were for taking poſſeſſion of the capitol, and the major part for proceeding di-

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rectly to the tribunal of public harangues: numbers gave their advice, for no better reaſon than to claſh with the opinions of others; and, in the diſtraction of jarring counſels, the miſfortune was, that what ought to have occurred firſt, was ſeen too late. They decided when the opportunity was loſt. We are told that Laco, without the privity of Galba, formed a deſign againſt the life of Vinius. The murder of that miniſter, he thought, would appeaſe the fury of the ſoldiers, or it may be that he ſuſpected treachery, and thought him joined in a ſecret league with Otho: perhaps his own malice was the motive. But for this dark purpoſe neither the time nor the place was convenient: the ſword once drawn, there was no knowing where the ſcene of blood would end. Meſſengers arriving every moment increaſed the conſternation; the ſpirit of Galba's friends began to droop; numbers deſerted him; and of all that zeal, which a little before blazed out with ſo much ardour, every ſpark was now extinguiſhed.

XL. GALBA, in the midſt of a prodigious conflux of people, had not ſtrength to ſupport himſelf; and, as the waving multitude was impelled different ways, he was hurried on by the torrent. The temples, the porticos, and great halls round the forum, were filled with crowds of gazing ſpectators. The whole preſented an awful ſpectacle. A deep and ſullen ſilence prevailed. The very rabble was huſhed. Amazement ſat on every face. Their eyes watched every motion, and their ears caught every ſound. The interval was big with terror; it was neither a tumult, nor a ſettled calm, but rather the ſtillneſs of fear, or ſmothered rage, ſuch as often precedes ſome dreadful calamity. Otho was ſtill in the camp. He received intelligence that the populace had recourſe to arms, and thereupon ordered his troops to puſh forward with rapidity, and prevent the impending dan-

ger. At his command the Roman ſoldiers, as if marching to dethrone an eaſtern monarch, a Vologeſes, or a Pacorus, and not their own lawful ſovereign, advanced with impetuous fury to imbrue their hands in the blood of an old man, naked and diſarmed. They entered the city; they diſperſed the common people; they ſpurred their horſes at full ſpeed, and, ruſhing into the forum ſword in hand, trampled the ſenators under foot. The ſight of the capitol made no impreſſion; the temples, ſanctified by the religion of ages, could not reſtrain their fury; for the majeſty of former princes they had no reſpect, and of thoſe who were to ſucceed, no kind of dread. They ruſhed forward to commit a deteſtable parricide, forgetting, in their frantic rage, that crimes of that atrocious nature are ſure to be puniſhed by the prince that ſucceeds to the ſovereign power.

XLI. The prætorians no ſooner appeared in ſight, than the ſtandard-bearer of the cohort ſtill remaining with Galba (his name, we are told, was Attilius Vergilio) tore from the colours the image of Galba, and daſhed it on the ground. That ſignal given, the ſoldiers, with one voice, declared for Otho. The people fled in conſternation. Such as lingered behind were attacked ſword in hand. The men, who carried Galba in a litter, were ſtruck with terror. In their fright they let him fall to the ground near the Curtian lake *(a)*. His laſt words, according as men admired or hated him, have been variouſly reported. According to ſome, he aſked, in a ſuppliant tone, What harm he had done? and prayed for a few days, that he might diſcharge the donative due to the ſoldiers. Others aſſure us, that he preſented his neck to the aſſaſſin's ſtroke, and ſaid with a firm tone of voice, "Strike, if the good of the common-"wealth requires it." To ruffians thirſting for blood no matter what he ſaid. By what hand the blow was given cannot now be

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be known. Some impute it to Terentius, a reſumed veteran; others, to a fellow of the name of Lecanius. A report ſtill more general has tranſmitted down to us the name of Camurius, a common ſoldier of the fifteenth legion. This man, it is ſaid, cut Galba's throat. The reſt fell on with brutal rage, and, finding his breaſt covered with armour, diſſevered his legs and arms. Nor did the barbarians deſiſt, till the emperor lay a headleſs trunk, deformed with wounds, and weltering in his blood.

XLII. Titus Vinius was the next victim. The manner in which he met his fate is likewiſe left uncertain. Whether on the firſt aſſault his utterance was ſuppreſſed by fear, or whether he had power to call out, that Otho had given no orders againſt his life, we have now no means of knowing. Thoſe words, if really ſpoken, might be an effort of puſillanimity to ſave his life, or they were the confeſſion of a man, who was actually an accomplice in the conſpiracy. His life and manners leave no room to doubt but he was capable of joining in a parricide, of which his own adminiſtration *(a)* was the principal cauſe. He fell by a wound that ſhattered the joint of his knee, and, as he lay ſtretched in that condition, he was run through the body by Julius Carus, a legionary ſoldier. He expired before the temple of Julius Cæſar.

XLIII. While the rebels were acting their horrible tragedy, the age beheld, in the conduct of one man, a ſplendid example of courage and fidelity. Sempronius Denſus was the perſon; a centurion of the prætorian cohort. Having been ordered by Galba to join the guard that eſcorted Piſo, he no ſooner ſaw a band of armed aſſaſſins, than he advanced to oppoſe their fury, brandiſhing his poignard, and exclaiming againſt the horrible deed. With his voice, with his hand, with every effort in the

power of man, he made a brave reſiſtance, and gave Piſo, wounded as he was, an opportunity of making his eſcape. Piſo reached the temple of Veſta, where a ſlave of the ſtate, touched with compaſſion, conducted him to his own private apartment. Piſo lay concealed for ſome time, not indebted to the ſanctity of the temple, nor to the rites of religion, but ſheltered by the obſcurity of the place. At length, Sulpicius Florus, who belonged to a Britiſh cohort, and had been made by Galba a citizen of Rome, and Statius Murcus, a prætorian ſoldier, arrived in queſt of him by Otho's ſpecial order. By theſe two men Piſo was dragged to the veſtibule of the temple, where, under repeated blows, he breathed his laſt.

XLIV. In the midſt of a general maſſacre, no murder, we are told, gave ſo much ſatisfaction to Otho, nor was there, among the heads cut off *(a)*, one, at which he gazed with ſuch ardent eyes. By this event he felt himſelf relieved from all apprehenſions. The fate of Galba and of Titus Vinius affected him in a different manner. The former brought to his mind an idea of majeſty fallen from a ſtate of elevation; and the death of the latter awakened the memory of an early friendſhip, and even into a heart like his, fierce, cruel, and ambitious, infuſed a tincture of melancholy. When Piſo fell, an enemy expired. Feeling for him neither regret nor compunction, he gave a looſe to joy. The three heads were fixed on poles, and carried, amidſt the enſigns of the cohorts, with the eagle of the legion, through the ſtreets of Rome. A band of ſoldiers followed, ſtretching forth their hands, reeking with blood, and boaſting aloud that they gave the mortal wounds, or that they were preſent aiding and abetting; all, with truth or falſehood, claiming the honour of an atrocious deed. No leſs than one hundred and twenty memorials, preſented on this occaſion, by perſons, who claimed the reward of crimes committed on

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that dreadful day, were afterwards found by Vitellius; and the ſeveral authors, after diligent ſearch made by his orders, were puniſhed with death, not from motives of regard for the memory of Galba, but with the uſual policy of princes, who think, by puniſhing the malefactors of a former reign, that they eſtabliſh a precedent, and, by the terrors of future vengeance, effectually ſecure themſelves.

XLV. ANOTHER ſenate and another people ſeemed now to be in poſſeſſion of Rome. All preſſed forward to the camp. You would have thought it a race of ſervility, in which every man endeavoured to outſtrip his fellow-citizens, and be the firſt to pay his court. They joined in reviling the name of Galba, and all applauded the conduct of the ſoldiers. They thronged round Otho, fawning to kiſs his hand, and, in proportion to their want of ſincerity, playing the farce with overacted zeal. Otho was not deficient in the mummery of thanks and gratitude. Attentive to all, and gracious to individuals, he took care at the ſame time, by his looks and actions, to reſtrain the ſoldiers, who, by the ferocity of their looks, ſeemed to threaten further miſchief. Marius Celſus, the conſul elect, was the object of their vengeance. He had been the friend of Galba, and, in the laſt extremity, continued faithful to that unhappy prince. His talents and integrity gave offence to a lawleſs crew, with whom every virtue was a crime. They demanded his immediate execution. But their views were too apparent. The beſt and ableſt men in Rome were doomed to deſtruction by a ſet of men, who panted to let looſe their rage, and lay a ſcene of blood, of plunder, and devaſtation. Otho was not yet in fulneſs of power. His authority was ſufficient to command the perpetration of crimes; to prohibit them was ſtill beyond him. The part he aſſumed was that of a man enraged, and bent on ſome atrocious deed. In that

that pretended fury, he ordered Celſus to be loaded with irons, as a man reſerved for heavier puniſhment, and by that ſtratagem ſaved him from deſtruction.

XLVI. The prætorians, from this time, knew no controul. They choſe their own præfects; namely, Plotius Firmus, formerly a common ſoldier, raiſed afterwards to the command of the night-guard, and, even during the life of Galba, a partiſan in favour of Otho. To him they added Licinius Proculus, a man who lived in intimacy with Otho, and was ſuppoſed to be an accomplice in all his dark deſigns. For the office of governor of Rome they named Flavius Sabinus *(a)*, influenced in their choice by their reſpect for the memory of Nero, who had committed to him the ſame important charge. The majority had another motive: by concurring in this nomination, they meant to pay a compliment to Veſpaſian, the brother of Sabinus. Their next object was, to aboliſh the fees exacted by the centurions for occaſional exemptions from duty, and for leave of abſence. Theſe fees, in fact, were an annual tribute out of the pockets of the common men. In conſequence of this abuſe, a fourth part of every company was ſeen rambling about the country, or idly loitering in the very camp. The centurion received his perquiſite, and had no other care. Nor was the ſoldier ſolicitous about the price; he purchaſed a right to be idle, and the means by which he enabled himſelf to defray the expence gave him no kind of ſcruple. By theft, by robbery, and by ſervile employments, he gained enough to enrich his officer; and the officer, in return, ſold a diſpenſation from labour and the duties of the ſervice. Whoever had hoarded up a little money, was, for that reaſon, haraſſed with diſcipline, and oppreſſed with labour, till he purchaſed the uſual indulgence. By theſe extortions the ſoldier was impoveriſhed, his ſtock was

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exhauſted; and after a vagabond life, his induſtry relaxed, and his vigour waſted, he returned to the camp without courage, ſtrength, or money. By theſe pernicious practices corruption grew into a ſyſtem. The common men forgot all diſcipline; their morals went to ruin; and, in the natural progreſs of vice, all became ripe for tumult, inſurrections, and civil war. To remedy the miſchief, and, at the ſame time, not to alienate the minds of the centurions, Otho undertook to pay an annual equivalent to the officers out of his own revenue. This reform was, no doubt, both wiſe and juſt. Good princes adopted it afterwards, and it is now a ſettled rule in the military ſyſtem. Laco, the late commander of the prætorians, was condemned to an iſland, there, as was given out, to paſs the remainder of his days; but a veteran ſoldier, whom Otho had diſpatched for the purpoſe, put an end to his life. Martianus Icelus, being of no higher rank than that of a manumitted ſlave, died by the hand of the executioner.

XLVII. AFTER the horrors of a day, ſpent in guilt, and blood, and carnage, if any thing could add to the public miſery, it was the joy that ſucceeded to that diſmal ſcene. The prætor of the city *(a)* ſummoned a meeting of the ſenate. The other magiſtrates ſtrove to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the vileſt adulation. The fathers aſſembled without delay. The tribunitian power, the name of Auguſtus, and all imperial honours enjoyed by former princes, were by a decree granted to Otho. Several members of that aſſembly were conſcious of having thrown odious colours on the name and character of their new emperor, and hoped to expiate, by preſent flattery, the bitterneſs of former invectives. Whether Otho deſpiſed thoſe injurious reflections, or ſtored them in his memory for future occaſions, is uncertain. The ſhortneſs of his reign has left that matter undecided.

cided. He was conveyed in triumph to the capitol, and thence to the imperial palace. In his way, he ſaw the forum diſcoloured with blood, and heaps of ſlaughtered citizens lying round him. He granted leave to remove the dead bodies, and to perform the rites of ſepulture. The remains of Piſo were buried by his wife Verania *(b)*, and Scribonianus his brother. The laſt duty to Titus Vinius was performed by his daughter Criſpina *(c)*. Their heads, which the murderers had reſerved for ſale, were found, and redeemed at a ſtipulated price.

XLVIII. Piso had well nigh completed the thirty-firſt year of his age; always high in the eſteem of the public, yet never happy. Two of his brothers ſuffered a violent death; Magnus, by the command of Claudius, and Craſſus, by the cruelty of Nero. He himſelf had paſſed a conſiderable part of his time in baniſhment; an outlaw for ſome years, and four days a prince. By the adoption of Galba he was raiſed above his elder brother; but, by that preference, all he gained was to be murdered firſt.

Titus Vinius had reached the age of fifty-ſeven; a man of unſettled principle, and various manners. His father was of a prætorian family; his grandfather by the maternal line was in the number proſcribed by the triumvirate. His firſt campaign, under Calviſius Sabinus *(a)*, began with diſgrace. The wife of his commanding officer, prompted by wanton curioſity, went by night, in the diſguiſe of a common ſoldier, to view the ſite and diſpoſition of the camp. In her frolic, ſhe went round to viſit the ſentinels, and the poſts and ſtations of the army. Arriving at length at the place where the eagles were depoſited, ſhe did not ſcruple to commit the act of adultery on that ſacred ſpot. Vinius was charged as her accomplice, and, by order of Caligula, loaded with irons. By the revolution which ſoon after

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happened, he regained his liberty, and from that time roſe to honours. He diſcharged the office of prætor, and afterwards commanded a legion, free from reproach. His name, however, was ſoon after branded with a crime, which a common ſlave would have bluſhed to commit. Being a gueſt at the table of Claudius, he was charged with pilfering a golden goblet. On the following day, that emperor, to diſtinguiſh Vinius from the reſt of his company, gave orders that he ſhould be truſted with nothing better than a cup of earthen ware. Notwithſtanding this diſgrace, he became proconſul of Narbon Gaul, and acquitted himſelf in his adminiſtration with diſtinguiſhed firmneſs and equal integrity. The friendſhip of Galba placed him on the brink of a precipice. Bold and prompt in action, of an enterpriſing genius, and undaunted courage, he was at the ſame time dark, ſubtle, and deceitful. Qualified to ſucceed in whatever he undertook, and by nature ready for good or evil deeds, he practiſed vice and virtue with alternate ſucceſs and equal ardour. His laſt will, on account of his immoderate wealth, was declared null and void. That of Piſo was confirmed by his poverty.

XLIX. GALBA's body, during the night that followed the murder, lay expoſed to numberleſs indignities. It was at length conveyed by Argius, an ancient ſlave and ſteward of that unfortunate emperor, to the private gardens of his maſter, and there depoſited in an humble manner, without honour or diſtinction. His head, in a mangled condition, was fixed on a pole by the rabble of the camp, and ſet up to public view near the tomb of Patrobius, a ſlave manumitted by Nero, and by order of Galba put to death. In that ſituation it was found on the following day, and added to the aſhes of the body, which had been already committed to the flames. Such was the end of Servius Galba, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. He had ſeen the reign of five

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ſive princes, and enjoyed, during that whole period, a ſeries of proſperity; happy as a private citizen, as a prince unfortunate. He was deſcended from a long line of anceſtors. His wealth was great: his talents not above mediocrity. Free from vice, he cannot be celebrated for his virtues. He knew the value of fame, yet was neither arrogant nor vainglorious. Having no rapacity, he was an œconomiſt of his own, and of the public treaſure careful to a degree of avarice. To his friends and freedmen he was open, generous, and even reſigned to their will. When his choice was happily made, his indulgence, however exceſſive, was at worſt an amiable weakneſs; when bad men ſurrounded him, his good-nature bordered on folly. The ſplendour of his rank, and the felicity with which he ſteered through the dangers of a black and evil period, helped to raiſe the value of his character: his indolence paſſed for wiſdom, and inactivity took the name of prudence. In the vigour of his days, he ſerved with honour in Germany; as proconſul of Africa, he governed with moderation; and the Nethermoſt Spain, when he was advanced in years, felt the mildneſs of his adminiſtration. While no higher than a private citizen, his merit was thought ſuperior to his rank; and the ſuffrages of mankind would have pronounced him worthy of empire, had he never made the experiment.

L. In this diſaſtrous juncture, while Rome was ſhuddering with horror at the late dreadful carnage, and, from the well known vices of Otho's nature, men were in dread of worſe evils ſtill to come, diſpatches from Germany brought an account of a new ſtorm ready to burſt in that quarter. The revolt of Vitellius, and the armies under his command, was no longer a ſecret. The intelligence arrived before the death of Galba, but was ſuppreſſed by that emperor, that the ſedition on the Upper Rhine might be thought

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thought the only miſchief that diſturbed the tranquillity of the empire. At length the true ſtate of affairs was known, and a general panic ſpread through the city. Not only the ſenators and Roman knights, who had ſtill ſome ſhadow of authority, but the meaner populace, mourned over the diſtractions of their country. All were grieved, to ſee two men of the moſt pernicious characters, enervated by luxury, and abandoned to every vice, choſen by ſome fatality to be the bane and ruin of the commonwealth. The crimes and miſeries, which, under the late emperors, were one continued peſtilence, were no longer the objects that employed the public mind. The civil wars were freſh in the memory of all; they talked of Rome beſieged and taken by her own armies; they remembered Italy laid waſte, the provinces plundered, the battles of Pharſalia and Philippi, and the ſiege of Modena and Peruſia *(a)*, two places well known in hiſtory, and each of them the ſcene of public calamity.

"In thoſe tempeſtuous times, the ſtruggle, it was obſerved, "lay between men of illuſtrious character, and by their contentions the ſtate was brought to the brink of ruin. But even "then, under Julius Cæſar, the empire ſtill ſurvived and flouriſhed. It ſurvived under Auguſtus, and gained additional luſtre. "Under Pompey and Brutus, had their arms prevailed, the republic would have been once more eſtabliſhed. But thoſe men "have paſſed away. Otho and Vitellius are now the competitors: "and for them, or either of them, ſhall the people crowd to the "temples? Muſt they pray for a tyrant to reign over them? "Vows, in ſuch a cauſe, were impious, ſince, in a war between "two deteſtable rivals, he, who conquers, will be armed with "power to commit ſtill greater crimes, and prove himſelf the "worſt." Such were the reaſonings of the people. Some, who ſaw at a diſtance, fixed their eyes on Veſpaſian, and the armies in

in the eaſt. They foreſaw new commotions in that part of the world, and dreaded the calamities of another war. Veſpaſian, they agreed, was in every reſpect ſuperior to the two chiefs, who now convulſed the ſtate; but even his character *(b)* was rather problematical. The truth is, of all the princes, who to his time reigned at Rome, he was the only one, whom power reformed, and made a better man.

LI. That the revolt under Vitellius may be ſeen in its true light, it will be neceſſary to ſtate the cauſes that produced it. I therefore go back to the origin of that event. After the defeat of Julius Vindex *(a)*, and the total rout of his armies, the victorious legions, enriched with booty, grew wanton with ſucceſs. To men, who without fatigue or danger had cloſed a lucrative war, the love of enterpriſe became a natural paſſion. They preferred hoſtilities to a ſtate of inaction, and plunder to the ſoldier's pay. They had, till the late commotions called them forth, endured the hardſhips of a rigorous ſervice, in a bleak climate and a deſolate country, where, even in time of peace, diſcipline was enforced with ſtrict ſeverity. But diſcipline, they knew, would be relaxed by civil diſcord. In the diſtractions of parties, both ſides encourage licentiouſneſs; and, by conſequence, fraud, corruption, and treachery triumph with impunity. The mutinous ſoldiers were abundantly provided with arms and horſes, both for parade and ſervice. Before the late war in Gaul, they ſaw no more than the company, or the troop of horſe, to which they belonged. Stationed at different quarters, they never went beyond their limits, and the boundaries of the provinces kept the armies diſtinct and ſeparate. Being at length drawn together to make head againſt Vindex, they felt their own ſtrength; and, having taſted the ſweets of victory, they wanted to renew the troubles, by which their rapacity had been ſo amply gratified. They no longer

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longer treated the Gauls as their allies and friends; they conſidered them as enemies, and a vanquiſhed people.

In theſe hoſtile ſentiments they were confirmed by ſuch of the Gallic nation as dwelt on the borders of the Rhine. The people, on that ſide of the country, had taken up arms againſt Vindex, and his allies, whom, ſince the death of that chief, they choſe to call the GALBIAN FACTION; and now, by every artifice, by infuſions of their own malice, they endeavoured to kindle a war between the Romans and their countrymen. The animoſity of the legions was eaſily excited. The Sequanians, the Æduans, and other ſtates, according to their opulence, were the chief objects of reſentment. The ſoldiers thought of nothing but towns aſſaulted and carried by ſtorm, the plunder of houſes, and the deſolation of the country. In the heat of imagination, every man anticipated the booty that was to fall to his ſhare. To their arrogance and avarice, the never failing vices of the ſtrongeſt, they united the indignation of men, who felt themſelves inſulted by the vainglory, with which the Æduans and the reſt of the obnoxious ſtates made it their boaſt, that, in deſpite of the legions, they had extorted from Galba a remiſſion of one fourth of their tribute, and an extenſion of their territory. To theſe incentives was added a report, artfully thrown out and readily believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the beſt and braveſt of the centurions to be diſmiſſed from the ſervice. To increaſe the ferment, tidings of an alarming nature arrived from every quarter, and, in particular, a ſtorm was ſaid to be gathering over the city of Rome. The people of Lyons, ſtill faithful to the memory of Nero, and the avowed enemies of Galba, took care to diſſeminate the worſt reports. From that place, as from the centre of intelligence, rumours conſtantly iſſued: but the camp was the magazine of news, where invention framed the lie of the day,

and credulity ſtood ready to receive it. The paſſions of the ſoldiers were in conſtant agitation: malice embittered their minds, and fear held them in ſuſpenſe. But they viewed their numbers, and their courage revived. They found themſelves in force, and in full ſecurity laughed at the idea of danger.

LII. It was near the calends of December in the preceding year, when Aulus Vitellius firſt appeared in the Lower Germany. He made it his buſineſs to review the legions in their winter-quarters; he reſtored ſeveral officers, who had been degraded, and relieved others from the diſgrace of an ignominious ſentence. In theſe proceedings he acted, in ſome inſtances, with juſtice, in others, with a view to his own ambition. He condemned the ſordid avarice, with which Fonteius Capito granted or refuſed rank in the army. He eſtabliſhed a fair and regular ſyſtem of military promotion, and in the eyes of the ſoldiers appeared to exceed the powers uſually veſted in conſular generals. He ſeemed to be an officer of ſuperior weight and grandeur. Reflecting men ſaw the baſeneſs of his motives *(a)*, while his creatures extolled every part of his conduct. The profuſion, which, without judgmend or œconomy, laviſhed away in bounties all his own property, and ſquandered that of others, was by his ſycophants called benevolence and generoſity. Even the vices, that ſprung from luſt of dominion, were by his creatures transformed into ſo many virtues.

In the two armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, there were, no doubt, men well diſpoſed, and of ſober conduct; but at the ſame time, both camps were infeſted by a ſet of deſperate incendiaries. At the head of the factious and the turbulent ſtood Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens, each the commander of a legion, both remarkable for their avarice, and both of a daring

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ſpirit, ready for any deſperate enterpriſe. Valens had ſerved the intereſt of Galba, by detecting Verginius, as ſoon as the conduct of that officer ſeemed to be equivocal: he had alſo cruſhed the machinations of Capito, and for thoſe ſervices thought himſelf ill requited. Stung with reſentment, he now endeavoured to rouſe the ambition of Vitellius. "The ſoldiers," he ſaid, "were zealous "in his ſervice, and the name of Vitellius ſtood in high eſteem "throughout the Roman world. From Hordeonius Flaccus no "oppoſition was to be apprehended. Britain was ready to de- "clare againſt Galba, and the German auxiliaries would follow "their example. The provinces wavered in their duty, and, by "conſequence, the precarious authority of a feeble old man would "be ſoon transferred to other hands. Fortune courted Vitellius: "he had nothing to do but to open his arms, and receive her "favours. Verginius, indeed, had every thing to chill his hopes, "and damp his reſolution. He had no ſplendid line of anceſtors "to recommend him. He was of an equeſtrian family; but his "father lived and died in obſcurity. A man of his caſt would "have proved unequal to the weight of empire. A private ſtation "was to him a poſt of ſafety. The caſe of Vitellius was very "different. Sprung from a father, who had been three times "conſul, once in conjunction with the emperor Claudius, and "who, moreover, had diſcharged the office of cenſor, he might "well aſpire to the higheſt elevation. The honours of his family "marked him out for the imperial dignity. Too great for a pri- "vate ſtation, he muſt reach the ſummit of power, or be utterly "loſt." Notwithſtanding this inflammatory ſpeech, the phlegmatic temper of Vitellius was not to be rouſed. A few faint wiſhes fluttered at his heart, but hope could find no admiſſion.

LIII. MEANWHILE Cæcina, who ſerved in the army on the Upper Rhine, had drawn to himſelf the affections of the army.

Young, and of a comely figure, tall and well proportioned, with an air of dignity in his deportment, a flow of eloquence, and an aſpiring genius, he had all the qualities that made an impreſſion on the military mind. Though a young man, he diſcharged the office of quæſtor in the province of Bætica in Spain, and was among the firſt that went over to Galba's intereſt. That emperor, to reward his zeal, gave him the command of a legion in Germany; but finding, afterwards, that he had been guilty of embezzling the public money, he ordered him to be called to a ſtrict account. Cæcina was not of a temper to ſubmit with patience. He reſolved to embroil the ſtate, and in the general confuſion hoped to find a remedy for his own private afflictions. The ſeed-plots of rebellion were already laid in the army. In the war againſt Vindex they had taken the field, and, till they heard that Nero was no more, never declared in favour of Galba. Even in that act of ſubmiſſion, they ſhewed no forward zeal, but ſuffered the legions on the Lower Rhine to take the lead. There was ſtill another circumſtance that helped to ſharpen their diſcontent. The Treviri, the Lingones, and other ſtates, which had felt the ſeverity of Galba's edicts, or had ſeen their territory reduced to narrower limits, lay contiguous to the winter-quarters of the legions. Hence frequent intercourſe, cabals, and ſeditious meetings, in which the ſoldiers grew more corrupt, envenomed as they were by the politics of diſcontented peaſants. Hence their zeal to promote the intereſt of Verginius, and, when that project failed, their readineſs to liſt under any other chief.

LIV. The Lingones, in token of friendſhip, had ſent preſents to the legions, and, in conformity to their ancient uſage, the ſymbolical figure of two right hands claſping one another. Their deputies appeared with the mien and garb of affliction. They went round the camp, and in every quarter diſburthened their

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complaints. In the tents, and in the place for the ſtandards and eagles, they painted forth their own private injuries, while other ſtates enjoyed the favour and the protection of Galba. Finding that they made an impreſſion, they repreſented to the ſoldiers the dangers that hung over their own heads, and the hardſhips under which they laboured. The Romans caught the infection. A general phrenzy ſpread through the camp; the flame of ſedition was ready to break out; and ſome dreadful miſchief ſeemed to be impending, when Hordeonius Flaccus, in the dead of night, ordered the deputies to depart without further delay. A report ſoon prevailed that they were all treacherouſly murdered, and that, if the ſoldiers did not inſtantly provide for their own ſafety, the beſt and braveſt of the army would be cruelly butchered, under covert of the night, far from their comrades, and without the knowledge of their friends. A ſecret combination was immediately formed. The ſoldiers joined in a bond of union. The auxiliary cohorts, at firſt ſuſpected of a deſign to riſe againſt the legions, and put the whole body to the ſword, entered into the league with eager ardour. Such is the nature of profligate and abandoned minds: in peace and profound tranquillity, they ſeldom agree; but for ſeditious purpoſes a coalition is eaſily formed.

LV. The legions on the Lower Rhine, on the calends of January, went through the uſual form of ſwearing fidelity to Galba; but the form only was obſerved. No man was ſeen to act with alacrity. In the foremoſt ranks a feeble ſound was heard; the words of the oath were repeated with an unwilling murmur, while the reſt remained in ſullen ſilence; each man, as uſual in dangerous enterpriſes, expecting the bold example of his comrades, ready to ſecond the inſurrection, yet not daring to begin it. A leaven of diſcordant humours pervaded the whole maſs of the army. The firſt and fifth legions were the moſt

outrageous: ſome of them pelted the images of Galba with a volley of ſtones. The fifteenth and ſixteenth abſtained from acts of violence, but were loud and clamorous: they bawled ſedition, but waited for ringleaders to begin the fray.

In the Upper Germany the tumult was ſtill more violent. On the ſame calends of January, the fourth and eighteenth legions, quartered together in one winter-camp, daſhed the images of Galba into fragments. In this outrage the fourth legion led the way; and the eighteenth, after balancing for ſome time, followed their example. Unwilling, however, to incur the imputation of a rebellion againſt their country, they agreed to revive the antiquated names of the SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE; and in that republican form took the oath of fidelity. Not one commander of a legion, nor even ſo much as a tribune, appeared in favour of Galba; on the contrary, many of them, as often happens in caſes of public confuſion, not only connived, but helped to increaſe the tumult. The mutineers were ſtill without a leader. No man took upon him to harangue the multitude; no orator aſcended the tribunal; nor could the incendiaries tell in whoſe ſervice their eloquence was to be employed.

LVI. HORDEONIUS FLACCUS beheld this ſcene of confuſion, and, though a conſular commander, never once interpoſed with his authority to reſtrain the violent, to ſecure the wavering, or to animate the well affected. He looked on, a calm ſpectator, tame and paſſive; it may be added, innocent, but innocent through ſluggiſh indolence. Four centurions of the eighteenth legion, namely, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, attempted to defend the images of Galba. The ſoldiers attacked them with impetuous violence, and all four were loaded with fetters. From that moment

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ment all fidelity was at an end. The obligation of the former oath was no longer binding. It happened in this, as in all ſeditions: one ſet appeared to be the moſt numerous, the reſt followed the leaders, and the whole herd was of one party. In the courſe of the night that followed the calends of January, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion arrived at the Agrippinian colony *(a)*, where Vitellius was engaged at a banquet, with intelligence, that the fourth and eighteenth legions, having deſtroyed the images of Galba, took a new form of oath to THE SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE. As that government exiſted no longer, the oath was deemed a nullity. In this criſis it was judged proper to ſeize the opportunity that fortune offered, and, by the nomination of an emperor, fix the wavering temper of the legions. Diſpatches were accordingly ſent to inform the army in the Lower Germany, that the ſoldiers on the Upper Rhine had revolted from Galba, and that, by conſequence, it remained for them either to march againſt the rebels, or, for the ſake of peace and mutual concord, to create another emperor. In chooſing for themſelves they would hazard little; but indeciſion might be dangerous.

LVII. THE winter-quarters *(a)* of the firſt legion were neareſt to the reſidence of Vitellius. Fabius Valens was the commanding officer; a prompt and daring leader of ſedition. On the following day he put himſelf at the head of the cavalry belonging to his own legion, and, with a party of the auxiliaries, proceeded by a rapid march to the Agrippinian colony. He no ſooner entered the city, than he ſaluted Vitellius by the title of emperor. The legions of the province, with zeal and ardour, followed his example; and three days before the nones of January, the legions in Upper Germany declared for Vitellius loſing all memory of the ſenate and the Roman people. Thoſe ſpecious

ſpecious words, which a few days before reſounded with ſo much energy, were dropt at once; and the men, it now was plain, were never in their hearts the ſoldiers of a republic. The Agrippinian people, the Treveri, and Lingones were determined not to be behind-hand in demonſtrations of zeal. They offered a ſupply of arms and horſes, of men and money, in proportion to their reſpective abilities. The ſtrong and valiant were willing to ſerve in perſon; the rich opened their treaſure; and the ſkilful gave their advice. The leading chiefs, as well in the colonies as in the camp, who had already enriched themſelves by the ſpoils of war, wiſhed for another victory that might bring with it an accumulation of wealth. The zeal with which they entered into the league, was what might be expected; but the alacrity of the common men was beheld with wonder. Poor and deſtitute, they made a tender of their travelling ſubſiſtence, their belts, their accoutrements, and the ſilver ornaments of their armour; all excited by one general impulſe, a ſudden fit of blind enthuſiaſm. In their motives there was, no doubt, a mingle of avarice; and plunder, they hoped, would be the reward of valour.

LVIII. VITELLIUS, after beſtowing the higheſt praiſe on the ſpirit, with which the ſoldiers embraced his cauſe, proceeded to regulate the various departments of public buſineſs. He tranſferred the offices, hitherto granted to the imperial freedmen, to the Roman knights; and the fees claimed by the centurions for exemptions from duty, were, for the future, to be defrayed out of the revenue of the prince. The fury of the ſoldiers, demanding vengeance on particular perſons, was not to be repreſſed. He yielded in ſome inſtances, and in others eluded their reſentment under colour of reſerving the obnoxious for heavier puniſhment. Pompeius Propinquus, the governor of Belgic Gaul,

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Gaul, was put to death on the ſpot; but Julius Burdo, who commanded the German fleet, was ſaved by an artful ſtratagem. The army conſidered that officer as the accuſer firſt, and afterwards as the murderer of Fonteius Capito, whoſe memory was ſtill held in reſpect. To pardon openly was not in the power of Vitellius: he could execute in open day; but to be merciful, he was obliged to deceive. Burdo remained in priſon till the victory obtained by Vitellius appeaſed the wrath of the ſoldiers. He then was ſet at liberty. In the mean time, Centurio Criſpinus, who with his own hand had ſhed the blood of Capito, ſuffered as a victim to expiate that atrocious deed. His guilt was manifeſt; the ſoldiers demanded his blood, and Vitellius thought a man of that deſcription no kind of loſs.

LIX. Julius Civilis was the next whom the army doomed to deſtruction; but being of high rank and conſequence among the Batavians, fear of a rupture with that fierce and warlike people ſaved his life. There were, at that time, in the territory of the Lingones, no leſs than eight Batavian cohorts, annexed at firſt as auxiliaries to the fourteenth legion, but ſeparated in the diſtraction of the times; a body of men, in that juncture, of the greateſt moment. It was in their power to turn the ſcale in favour of whatever party they eſpouſed. Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four centurions already mentioned, were, by order of Vitellius, hurried to execution. They had remained ſteady in their duty to their prince; and fidelity is a crime which men in open rebellion never pardon. Valerius Aſiaticus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, to whom, in a ſhort time after, Vitellius gave his daughter in marriage; and Junius Blæſus, who preſided in the province of Lyons, and had under his command the Italic legion *(a)*, and the body of horſe called the Taurinian cavalry *(b)*, went over to the party of the new emperor.

emperor. The forces in Rhætia were not long in ſuſpenſe, and the legions in Britain declared, without heſitation, in favour of Vitellius.

LX. BRITAIN was, at that time, governed by Trebellius Maximus *(a)*; a man, for his avarice and ſordid practices, deſpiſed and hated by the army. Between him and Roſcius Cælius, who commanded the twentieth legion, there had been a long ſubſiſting quarrel, renewed of late with keener acrimony, and embittered by the diſtractions of a civil war. Cælius was charged by his ſuperior officer with being the fomenter of ſedition, and an enemy to diſcipline and good order: in return, he recriminated, alleging that the commander in chief plundered the legions, and left the ſoldiers to languiſh in diſtreſs and poverty. From this diſſenſion between their officers the common men caught the infection. All diſcipline was at an end. Licentiouſneſs prevailed, and the tumult roſe, at length, to ſuch a height, that Trebellius, inſulted openly by the auxiliaries, deſerted by the cavalry, and betrayed by the cohorts, was obliged to fly for refuge to Vitellius. The province, however, notwithſtanding the flight of a conſular governor, remained in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity. The commanders of the legions held the reins of government, by their commiſſions equal in authority, but eclipſed by the enterpriſing genius and the daring ſpirit of Cælius.

LXI. THE arrival of the forces from Britain was an acceſſion of ſtrength; and thereupon Vitellius, fluſhed with hope, abounding in reſources, and ſtrong in numbers, reſolved to carry the war into Italy by two different routes, under the conduct of two commanders. Fabius Valens was ſent forward, with inſtructions to draw to his intereſt the people of Gaul, and, if he

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found them obſtinate, to lay waſte their country with fire and ſword. He was afterwards to paſs over the *Cottian Alps (a)*, and make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina, the other general, was ordered to take a nearer way, over the Penine mountains, and make his deſcent on that ſide. The flower of the army from the Lower Rhine, with the eagle of the fifth legion, and the cohorts and cavalry, amounting to forty thouſand men, were put under the command of Valens. Cæcina advanced from the Upper Germany with no leſs than thirty thouſand, of which the one-and-twentieth legion was the main ſtrength. Each commander had a reinforcement of German auxiliaries. Vitellius followed them, with a third army, to cruſh whatever reſiſted, and bring up the whole weight of the war.

LXII. The new emperor and his army preſented a ſtriking contraſt: the ſoldiers burned with impatience, and with one voice demanded to be led againſt the enemy. "It was time," they ſaid, "to puſh on the war with vigour, while the two "Gauls are in commotion, and Spain is yet undecided. The "winter ſeaſon is far from being an obſtacle; nor were the "men to be amuſed with idle negociations to bring on a com- "promiſe. Italy, in all events, muſt be invaded, and Rome "taken by ſtorm. In civil diſſenſions, it is expedition that gives "life and energy to all military operations. The criſis called for "vigour, and debate was out of ſeaſon." Vitellius, in the mean time, loitered away his time in dull repoſe, lifeleſs, torpid, drunk at noon-day, and overwhelmed with gluttony *(a)*. The imperial dignity, he thought, conſiſted in riot and profuſion, and he reſolved to enjoy the prerogative of a prince. The ſpirit of the ſoldiers ſupplied the defects of their prince. They neither wanted him in the ranks to animate the brave, nor to rouſe the tardy and inactive. Each man was his own general. With one

one conſent they formed the ranks, and demanded the ſignal for the march. They ſaluted Vitellius by the name of Germanicus *(b)*; that of Cæſar he choſe to decline, and even after his victory always rejected it. Valens began his march. On that very day his army beheld a joyful omen. An eagle appeared at the head of the lines, meaſuring his flight by the movement of the ſoldiers, as if to guide them on their way. The air reſounded with ſhouts of joy, while the bird proceeded in the ſame regular courſe, undiſmayed by the uproar, and ſtill ſeeming to direct the march. A phænomenon ſo unuſual was conſidered as a ſure prognoſtic of a ſignal victory.

LXIII. The army advanced in good order towards the ſtate of the Treveri, whom they conſidered as their friends and allies. At Divodurum *(a)* (a city of the Mediomatrici) they received every mark of kindneſs, but were ſeized unaccountably with a ſudden panic, in its effect ſo extraordinary, that the ſoldiers graſped their arms, and fell upon the innocent inhabitants ſword in hand. In this dreadful outrage the love of plunder had no ſhare; a ſudden phrenſy poſſeſſed every mind; and, as the cauſe was unknown, no remedy could be applied. No leſs than four thouſand men were maſſacred; and, if the entreaties of the general had not at length prevailed, the whole city had been laid in blood. The reſt of Gaul was alarmed by this horrible cataſtrophe to ſuch a degree, that, wherever the army approached, whole cities, with the magiſtrates at their head, went forth in a ſuppliant manner to ſue for mercy. Mothers with their children lay proſtrate on the ground, as if a conquering enemy advanced againſt them; and, though nothing like hoſtility ſubſiſted, the wretched people were obliged, in profound peace, to deprecate all the horrors of war.

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LXIV. VALENS arrived with his army at the capital city of the Leucians *(a)*. At that place he received intelligence of the murder of Galba, and the acceſſion of Otho. The news made no impreſſion on the ſoldiers. Unmoved by joy or fear, they thought of nothing but the ſpoils of war. The Gauls, releaſed by this event from their attachment to Galba, were now at liberty to chooſe their party. Otho and Vitellius were objects of their deteſtation; but they feared the latter. The army proceeded on their march to the territory of the Lingones, a people well diſpoſed towards Vitellius. They met with a friendly reception, and paſſed their time in acts of mutual kindneſs. But this amicable intercourſe was interrupted by the intemperance of the cohort *(b)*, which had been ſeparated, as already mentioned, from the fourteenth legion, and by Valens incorporated with his army. Being of the Batavian nation, and by nature fierce and warlike, they lived on bad terms with the legions. Opprobrious words paſſed between them; from words contention aroſe: the legionary ſoldiers entered into the diſpute, and joined the different parties as judgment or inclination prompted. The quarrel roſe to ſuch a pitch, that, if Valens had not interpoſed, and, by making a few examples, recalled the Batavians to a ſenſe of their duty, a bloody battle muſt have been the conſequence.

A colourable pretext for falling on the Æduans was the ardent wiſh of the army; but that people not only complied with the demand of money and arms, but added a voluntary ſupply of proviſions. What was thus done by the Æduans through motives of fear, the people of Lyons performed with inclination and zeal to ſerve the cauſe of Vitellius. From that city the ITALIC LEGION and the TAURINIAN CAVALRY were ordered to join the army. The eighteenth cohort *(c)*, which had been uſed to winter

winter there, was left in garriſon. Manlius Valens at that time commanded the Italic legion. This officer had rendered good ſervice to the cauſe, but his ſervices were repaid with ingratitude by Vitellius. The fact was, Fabius Valens, the commander in chief, had given a ſecret ſtab to his reputation, and, to cover his malice, played an artful game, with all the plauſible appearance of ſly hypocriſy. In public he praiſed the perſon whom he wounded in the dark.

LXV. The late war had kindled afreſh the deadly feud, which had long ſubſiſted between the people of Lyons and the inhabitants of Vienne *(a)*. In the various battles, which they had fought with alternate ſucceſs, and prodigious ſlaughter, it was viſible that ſo much animoſity was not merely the effect of party-rage in a conteſt between Nero and Galba. The people of Lyons had felt the weight of Galba's diſpleaſure; they ſaw their revenues *(b)* wreſted out of their hands, and confiſcated to the imperial treaſury, while their inveterate enemies enjoyed the favours of the emperor. Hence a new ſource of jealouſy. The two cities were ſeparated by a river *(c)*; but they were hoſtile neighbours, and they ſaw each other with inflamed reſentment. Revenge and malice were not to be appeaſed. The citizens of Lyons omitted nothing that could excite the legions againſt their rivals: they talked with the ſoldiers, man by man, and nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of Vienne could ſatisfy their indignation. "Lyons," they ſaid, "had been beſieged by their mor-" tal enemies, who had taken up arms in the cauſe of Vindex, " and lately raiſed recruits to complete the legions in the ſervice of " Galba." To theſe incentives they added the temptation of plunder in a rich and opulent city. Finding that they had infuſed their rancour into the minds of the ſoldiers, they no longer depended on ſecret practices, but openly, and in a body, preferred

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their petition, imploring the army to march forth the redreſſers of wrong, and raſe to the ground a city, that had been the nurſery of war, and a hive of enemies; a foreign race, who hated the Roman name. Lyons, they ſaid, was a confederate colony *(d)*, a portion of the army, willing, at all times, to ſhare in the good or evil fortune of the empire. The iſſue of the preſent war might be diſaſtrous to their party. They therefore implored the legions not to leave them, in the event of a defeat, at the mercy of a furious and implacable enemy.

LXVI. THESE entreaties had their effect. The legions were rouſed to vengeance, and the flame roſe to ſuch a height, that the commanders and other officers deſpaired of being able to extinguiſh it. The inhabitants of Vienne had notice of their danger. They came forth in ſolemn proceſſion, bearing in their hands *(a)* the ſacred veſtments, and all the uſual tokens of peace and humble ſupplication. They met the Romans on their march, and, falling proſtrate on the ground, claſped their knees, and in a pathetic ſtrain deprecated the vengeance ready to burſt upon them. Fabius Valens judged it expedient to order a diſtribution of three hundred ſeſterces to each man. The ſoldiers began to relent, and the colony was reſpected for its worth and ancient dignity. The general pleaded in behalf of the inhabitants, and was heard with attention. The ſtate, however, was obliged to furniſh a ſupply of arms and warlike ſtores. Individuals, with emulation, contributed from their private ſtock. The report, however, was, that the people, in good time, applied a large ſum of money, and purchaſed the protection of the commander in chief. Thus much is certain, that, after being for a long time depreſſed with poverty, he grew ſuddenly rich, but took no pains to conceal his affluence. The art of riſing in the world with moderation, was not the talent of Valens. His paſſions had been reſtrained by indigence,

and now, when fortune ſmiled, the ſudden taſte of pleaſure hurried him into exceſs. A beggar in his youth, he was, in old age, a voluptuous prodigal.

The army proceeded by ſlow marches through the territory of the Allobrogians, and thence to the Vocontians, the general, during the whole progreſs, making his market at every place, and ſelling his favours for a ſum of money. For a bribe he fixed the length of each day's march, and ſhifted his camp for a price agreed upon between him and the owners of the lands. In all theſe exactions Valens enforced his orders with unrelenting cruelty, nor did he bluſh to drive open bargains with the magiſtrates of the ſeveral cities. Torches and firebrands were prepared to fire the town of Lucus, ſituate in the territory of the Vocontians; and the place would infallibly have been burnt to the ground, if the people had not ranſomed themſelves with a conſiderable ſum. Where pecuniary bribes were not to be had, women were obliged to reſign their perſons, and proſtitution became the price of common humanity. In this manner, gratifying his avarice, or his brutal paſſions, Valens arrived at the foot of the Alps.

LXVII. Cæcina, who commanded the ſecond army, marked his way with greater rapine and more horrible cruelty. He found in the territory of the Helvetians abundant cauſe to provoke a man of his ferocious temper. The people of that diſtrict, originally a Gallic nation *(a)*, were renowned in former times for their valour, and their exploits in war. Of late years the hiſtory of their anceſtors was their only glory. Not having heard of the death of Galba, they were unwilling to acknowledge Vitellius. In this diſpoſition of their minds, they had ſoon a cauſe of quarrel, occaſioned by the rapacity of the twenty-firſt legion. That body of

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of men fell in with a party, who were eſcorting a ſum of money to a ſtrong fort, where the Helvetians had immemorially maintained a garriſon. The Romans ſeized the whole as lawful plunder. An act of violence, ſo unwarranted, raiſed the indignation of the people. Determined to make repriſals, they intercepted a ſmall party on their way to Pannonia, with letters from the German army to the legions ſtationed in that country. They ſeized the papers, and detained in cuſtody a centurion with ſome of his ſoldiers. This, to ſuch a man as Cæcina, was ample provocation. He wiſhed for nothing ſo much as a pretence for open hoſtility. Whenever he took umbrage, he ſtruck his blow without delay. To defer the puniſhment, were to leave time for repentance. He marched againſt the Helvetians, and, having laid waſte the country, ſacked a place, built, during the leiſure of a long peace, in the form of a municipal town, remarkable for the beauty of the ſituation, and, by reaſon of its ſalubrious waters *(b)*, much frequented. Not content with this act of revenge, he ſent diſpatches into Rhætia, with orders to the auxiliaries of that country to hang upon the rear of the Helvetians, while he advanced to attack them in front.

LXVIII. The ſpirit of the Helvetians, fierce and intrepid, while the danger was at a diſtance, began to droop as ſoon as the war drew nearer. In the beginning of theſe hoſtilities they had choſen Claudius Severus to command their forces, but terror and confuſion followed. They neither knew the uſe of their arms, nor the advantage of diſcipline. To keep their ranks in battle was not their practice, nor were they able to act in concert with their united force. The conteſt they now perceived muſt be unequal with a veteran army; and, their fortifications being every where in decay, to ſtand a ſiege was not adviſable. Cæcina advanced at the head of a numerous army; the cavalry and

and auxiliary forces from Rhætia, with the youth of that country, enured to arms, and trained to the art of war, were ready to attack them in the rear. The country was laid waſte, and a dreadful carnage followed. The Helvetians betook themſelves to flight; and, after wandering about in a general panic, wounded, maimed, and unable to reſiſt, they threw down their arms, and fled for refuge to the mountain, known by the name of Vocetius *(a)*. A band of Thracians was ſent to diſlodge them. Driven from their faſtneſs, they betook themſelves to the woods, or fled to their lurking places, while the Germans and Rhætians hung upon them in their flight. Several thouſands were put to the ſword, or ſold to ſlavery. Having ravaged the country, and laid a ſcene of deſolation, the army marched to the ſiege of Aventicum *(b)*, the capital city of the Helvetians. The inhabitants ſent their deputies, offering to ſurrender at diſcretion. Their ſubmiſſion was accepted. Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was by order of Cæcina publicly executed. The reſt were left to the mercy or reſentment of Vitellius.

LXIX. The Helvetians ſent their ambaſſadors to the new emperor; but which was moſt implacable, he or his army, it is difficult to decide. The ſoldiers clamoured for the utter-deſtruction of the whole race. They brandiſhed their arms in the face of the ambaſſadors, and threatened blows and brutal violence. Vitellius ſhewed no leſs ferocity. He gave vent to a torrent of abuſe, and threw out violent menaces. At length Claudius Coſſus, one of the deputies, who poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare of eloquence, but had the ſkill, under an appearance of well-acted terror, to conceal his power over the paſſions of his audience, had the addreſs to ſooth the minds of the ſoldiers. Their rage ſubſided, and compaſſion took its turn. Such is the nature

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of the multitude; eaſily inflamed, and with a ſudden tranſition ſhifting to the oppoſite extreme. They melted into tears, and never ceaſed their ſupplications, till they prevailed on Vitellius, and ſaved the people from deſtruction.

LXX. CÆCINA, wanting further inſtructions from Vitellius, and, at the ſame time, making all proper arrangements for his paſſage over the Alps, halted for a few days in the territory of the Helvetians. In that ſituation, he received intelligence that the ſquadron of horſe called Sylla's ſquadron *(a)*, at that time quartered on the banks of the Po, had ſworn fidelity to Vitellius. They had formerly ſerved under Vitellius, when he was the proconſular governor *(b)* of Africa. Nero, when he projected an expedition into Ægypt, ordered them to ſail for that country; but, being ſoon after alarmed by the commotions ſtirred up by Vindex, he called them back to Italy, where they remained from that time. Their officers, unacquainted with Otho, and cloſely connected with Vitellius, eſpouſed the intereſt of the latter. By repreſenting to the men the ſtrength of the legions then on their march to the invaſion of Italy, and by extolling the valour of the German armies, they drew the whole ſquadron into their party. As a further proof of their zeal for their new prince, they attracted to his intereſt the chief municipal towns on the other ſide of the Po, namely, Mediolanum *(c)*, Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercelles. Of this fact Cæcina was appriſed by diſpatches from the officers. But a ſingle ſquadron, he knew, was not ſufficient to defend ſo large a tract of country. In order to reinforce them, he ſent forward the cohorts of Gaul, of Luſitania, and Britain, with the ſuccours from Germany, and the ſquadron of horſe called the ALA PETRINA *(d)*. How he himſelf ſhould paſs into Italy, was his next conſideration. His firſt plan was to march over the Rhætian mountains *(e)*, in order

to make a deſcent into Noricum, where Petronius Urbicus, the governor of the province, ſuppoſed to be a partiſan in Otho's ſervice, was buſy in collecting forces, and deſtroying the bridges over the rivers. But this enterpriſe was ſoon relinquiſhed. The detachment already ſent forward might be cut off, and, after all, the ſecure poſſeſſion of Italy was the important object. The iſſue of the war, wherever decided, would draw after it all inferior places, and Noricum would fall, by conſequence, into the hands of the conqueror. He reſolved, therefore, to proceed by the ſhorteſt way into Italy. For this purpoſe, he ordered the troops lightly armed to proceed on their journey, and, with the legions heavily armed, he marched himſelf over the Penine Alps *(f)*, through a waſte of ſnow, and all the rigours of the winter ſeaſon.

LXXI. Otho, in the mean time, diſplayed a new and unexpected character. He renounced his love of pleaſure, or, at leaſt, diſſembled for the preſent. Scorning to loiter in luxury and inglorious eaſe, he aſſumed a ſpirit becoming the majeſty of empire. And yet the change diffuſed a general terror: men knew that his virtues were falſe, and they dreaded a return of his former vices. He ordered Marius Celſus, the conſul elect, whom he had put in irons *(a)* in order to reſcue him from the hands of the ſoldiers, to appear before him in the capitol. To acquire the fame of clemency, by releaſing a man of illuſtrious character, and well known to be an enemy to Otho and his party, was the object of his ambition. Celſus appeared with unſhaken conſtancy. He confeſſed the crime of adhering faithfully to the unfortunate Galba, and, by that firmneſs, gave the emperor a fair opportunity to grace his character. Otho did not aſſume the tone of a ſovereign granting pardon to a criminal; but, to ſhew that he could think generouſly of an enemy, and to remove all doubt of the ſincerity of his reconciliation, he received Celſus

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among his intimate friends, and, in a ſhort time afterwards, appointed him one of his generals to conduct the war. Celſus accepted the commiſſion, and remained ſteady to his truſt. His fidelity was honourable, but unfortunate. The clemency of the prince gave great ſatisfaction to the leading men at Rome; the populace applauded, and even the ſoldiers admired the virtue which they had condemned.

LXXII. The joy excited on this occaſion was followed by an event no leſs acceptable, but for reaſons of a different nature. The public voice was loud againſt Sophonius Tigellinus *(a)*, and accordingly his doom was fixed. From low beginnings this man had raiſed himſelf to eminence in the ſtate. His birth was obſcure. Stained in his youth with the worſt impurities, he retained, in his advanced years, all his early habits, and cloſed with diſgrace a life begun in infamy. By his vices, the ſureſt road to preferment, he obtained the command, firſt of the city cohorts, and afterwards of the prætorian guards. The rewards which were due to virtue only, he obtained by his crimes. To his effeminate qualities he united ſome of thoſe rougher evils which may be called manly paſſions, ſuch as avarice and cruelty. Having gained an entire aſcendant over the affections of Nero, he was, in ſome inſtances, the adviſer of the horrors committed by that prince, and in others the chief actor, without the knowledge of his maſter. He corrupted Nero at firſt, and in the end deſerted him. Hence it was that the blood of a criminal was never demanded with ſuch violent clamour. The men who deteſted the memory of Nero, and thoſe who ſtill regretted him, concurred in one opinion. They all joined in the cry for public juſtice. During the ſhort reign of Galba, he lived ſecure under the protection of Titus Vinius. In fact, he had ſome merit with that miniſter, having ſaved the life of his daughter; but in that very

very act, humanity was not his motive. A man who had ſhed ſo much innocent blood, could not be ſuſpected of a ſingle virtue. His deſign was, by a new connection, to ſcreen himſelf from future danger.

Such at all times is the policy of the worſt of men: they dread a reverſe of fortune, and, in the hour of need, hope to ſhelter themſelves under the protection of ſome pernicious favourite. Innocence is no part of their care; they know that the guilty are ever ready to defend each other. But the friendſhip of Vinius, who was ſtill remembered with deteſtation, was an additional ſpur to the populace. They crowded together from all quarters; they ſurrounded the palace; they filled the forum; and in the circus and the theatre, where licentiouſneſs is moſt apt to ſhew itſelf, they clamoured, with a degree of violence little ſhort of ſedition, for the puniſhment of a vile malefactor. Tigellinus was then at the baths of Sinueſſa *(b)*. Orders were ſent to him to put a period to his life. He received the fatal news in a circle of his concubines; he took leave with tenderneſs; and after mutual embraces, and other trifling delays, he cut his throat with a razor; by the puſillanimity of his laſt moments diſgracing even the infamy of his former life.

LXXIII. About the ſame time, the execution of Calvia Criſpinilla *(a)* was demanded by the public voice: but by various artifices, in which the duplicity of the prince covered him with diſhonour, ſhe was ſaved from danger. She had been, in the reign of Nero, the profeſſed teacher of laſcivious pleaſures, and, in the various ſcenes of that emperor, the caterer for his appetite. She paſſed afterwards into Africa, and, having inſtigated Clodius Macer to revolt, became an accomplice in the plot to cauſe a famine in the city of Rome. She was married ſoon after to a man of conſular

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ſular rank, and, by that connection, gained a powerful intereſt, inſomuch that, during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, ſhe lived in perfect ſecurity. Even in the following reign ſhe was high in credit. Her riches, and her want of children, placed her in a flouriſhing ſtate; and thoſe two circumſtances, in good as well as evil times, are ſure to be of weight.

LXXIV. OTHO, in the mean time, endeavoured by frequent letters to divert Vitellius from his purpoſe. His propoſals were in the ſoft ſtyle of female perſuaſion; he offered money, and a retreat for voluptuous enjoyments, with all that the prince's favour could beſtow. Vitellius anſwered in the ſame delicate ſtrain. Both parties correſponded in dainty terms, with diſſembled hatred, and frivolous negociation, till, exaſperated by want of ſucceſs, they changed their tone, and, with unguarded invective, charged each other with criminal pleaſures and flagitious deeds. Both had truth on their ſides. Weary of altercation, Otho recalled the deputies, who had been ſent by Galba, and, in their room, diſpatched others to the German army, to the Italic legion, and the troops quartered at Lyons, with inſtructions to negociate in the name of the ſenate. The men employed in this embaſſy tarried with Vitellius, and, by their cheerful compliance, left no room to think that they were detained by force. Under pretence of doing honour to the embaſſy, Otho had ſent a detachment of the prætorian guards. Without ſuffering them to mix with the ſoldiers, Vitellius ordered them to return without delay. Fabius Valens took the opportunity to write, in the name of the German army, to the prætorian guards. His letters, in a ſtyle of magnificence, ſet forth the ſtrength of the legions, and, at the ſame time, offered terms of mutual concord. He condemned the forward zeal, with which they preſumed to transfer to Otho an empire which had been veſted in Vitellius. He mingled promiſes with expreſ-

expreſſions of anger, and, after treating the prætorians as men unequal to an important war, gave them aſſurances that they would loſe nothing by peace and unanimity. Theſe letters, however, were without effect. The prætorians continued firm in their duty.

LXXV. The rival chiefs began to lay ſnares for each other. They waged a war of treachery. Emiſſaries were ſent by Otho into Germany, and others by Vitellius to Rome. Both parties miſſed their aim. The agents of Vitellius paſſed undetected. Amidſt a concourſe of people, in ſo vaſt a city as Rome, they could lurk with impunity; while, on the other hand, in a camp where all were known to each other, the men employed by Otho were ſoon diſcovered by the novelty of their faces. Vitellius, anxious for his family, then reſiding at Rome, ſent letters to Titianus, the brother of Otho, threatening, if any violence was offered to his mother or his children *(a)*, to make repriſals, and put both him and his ſon to death. Both families remained unhurt. As long as Otho lived, fear might be the motive: Vitellius, after his victory, added to his laurels the palm of clemency.

LXXVI. The firſt occurrence that inſpired Otho with confidence in his cauſe, was an account from Illyricum that the legions of Dalmatia, of Pannonia, and Mæſia had declared in his favour. Advices from Spain brought the like intelligence; and in a public edict, honourable mention was made of Cluvius Rufus, the governor of the province. That compliment, however, was found to be premature. Spain went over to the intereſt of Vitellius. The people of Aquitaine, under the influence of Julius Cordus, had ſworn obedience to Otho; but a little time ſhewed, that the obligation of an oath was no longer binding. All principle,

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ciple, all affection, and all truth were baniſhed. Fear, and the neceſſity of the times, governed in every quarter. Narbon Gaul acceded to Vitellius. A party in force, and near at hand, found no difficulty in drawing their neighbours into a league with themſelves. The diſtant provinces, and all places ſeparated by the Mediterranean, adhered to Otho, not from motives of regard for him or his party, but becauſe the name of Rome and the ſenate was ſtill reſpected by foreign nations. Beſides this, Otho, being the firſt announced in foreign parts, had already made his impreſſion. The army in Judæa, under the conduct of Veſpaſian, and that in Syria, under Mucianus, ſwore fidelity to Otho. Ægypt, and the provinces in the eaſt, acknowledged his authority. The ſame diſpoſition prevailed in Africa. That whole country was willing to follow the example ſet by the people of Carthage. In that city, without any order or authority from Vipſanius Apronianus, then proconſular governor of the province, a public treat was given by a pragmatical fellow, of the name of Creſcens, one of Nero's freedmen, who had the ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an active partiſan in the intereſt of Otho. Such, in times of public diſtraction, is the preſumption of the loweſt men in the ſtate. They think it time to emerge from their obſcurity, and act their part, as if they had an intereſt in the commonwealth. The mob of Carthage expreſſed their zeal with all demonſtrations of joy, and the reſt of Africa followed their example.

LXXVII. In this poſture of affairs, while the armies and the ſeveral provinces embraced oppoſite intereſts, it was evident that Vitellius, to ſecure his title, had nothing left but the deciſion of the ſword. Otho, in the mean time, remained at Rome, diſcharging all the functions of the ſovereign power, as if he was eſtabliſhed in profound tranquillity. His conduct, in ſome inſtances,

inſtances, was ſuch as became the dignity of the ſtate; but his meaſures, for the moſt part, were haſtily adopted, the mere expedients of the day. He named himſelf and his brother Titianus joint conſuls *(a)*, to continue in office till the calends of March. For the two following months, with a view to curry favour with the German army, he appointed Verginius, and gave him for his colleague Poppæus Vopiſcus. For the nomination of the latter he pretended motives of friendſhip; but, as men of penetration thought, his real view was to pay court to the people of Vienne. With regard to future conſuls, no alteration was made in the arrangement ſettled by Nero or by Galba. Cælius Sabinus and his brother Flavius were to ſucceed for the months of May and June. From the firſt of July to September, Arrius Antoninus *(b)* and Marius Celſus were to be in office. Nor did Vitellius, after his victory, diſturb this order of ſucceſſion. Otho, at the ſame time, thought proper to grant the augural and pontifical dignities, as the ſummit of civil honours, to ſuch of the ſenators as were grown grey in public ſtations; nor was he unmindful of the young patricians lately recalled from baniſhment. To ſooth the remembrance of their ſufferings, he beſtowed upon them the ſacerdotal honours which had been enjoyed by their anceſtors. Cadius Rufus *(c)*, Pedius Blæſus, and Sævinus Pomtinus, who under Claudius or Nero had been charged with extortion, and expelled the ſenate, were reſtored to their rank. To varniſh this proceeding, the real offence was ſuppreſſed, and what was, in fact, public rapine, in the ſtyle of the pardon took the name of violated majeſty; a charge held in ſuch general deteſtation, that, to elude it, the beſt and wiſeſt laws were ſet aſide.

LXXVIII. In order to extend his popularity, Otho, in the next place, turned his thoughts to the cities and provinces, little doubting but by acts of munificence he ſhould be able to ſtrengthen

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his intereſt. To the colonies of Hiſpalis and Emerita *(a)*, then on the decline, he tranſplanted a number of families: the Lingones were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens, and to the province of Bætica all the Mooriſh cities were annexed. He gave a new code of laws to Cappadocia, and another to Africa; all popular grants, and ſplendid for the preſent, but ſoon to fade away, and ſink into oblivion. Amidſt theſe innovations, all of them temporizing acts, occaſioned by the preſſure of his affairs, and perhaps on that account excuſable, he did not forget his tender paſſions. Even in the moment when the ſovereign power was ſtill at ſtake, his love of Poppæa was not extinguiſhed. With fond remembrance of that connection, he cauſed her ſtatues to be reſtored by a decree of the ſenate. There is reaſon to think, that, with a view to popularity, he intended to celebrate the memory of Nero, with public honours. Many were for erecting the ſtatues of that emperor *(b)*, and even propoſed it as a public meaſure. The populace and the ſoldiers, as if they meant to decorate their emperor with additional ſplendour, ſaluted him by the title of NERO OTHO. He heard their acclamations, but remained ſilent; perhaps unwilling to reject the compliment, perhaps aſhamed to accept it.

LXXIX. THE public mind being now intent on the great ſcene that began to open, no wonder if foreign affairs fell into neglect. Encouraged by the inattention that prevailed at Rome, the Rhoxolanians, a people of Sarmatia, who in the preceding winter had cut off two entire cohorts, made an irruption into the province of Mæſia, with nine thouſand horſe; a band of freebooters, determined to ravage the country. Plunder, and not war, was their paſſion. They prowled about in queſt of prey, without order, or apprehenſion of an enemy, when, on a ſudden, they found themſelves hemmed in by the third legion and their auxiliaries.

iliaries. The Romans advanced in order of battle. The Sarmatians, overloaded with booty, were taken by ſurpriſe. On a damp and ſlippery ſoil, the ſwiftneſs of their horſes was of no uſe. Unable to retreat, they were cut to pieces, more like men bound in fetters, than ſoldiers armed for the field of battle. It may ſeem ſtrange, but it is not leſs true, that the courage of the Sarmatians has no inward principle, but depends altogether upon external circumſtances; a kind of courage, that has no ſource in the mind, but may be ſaid to be out of the man. In an engagement with the infantry, nothing can be more daſtardly; in an onſet of the cavalry, they are impetuous, fierce, and irreſiſtible. Their weapons are long ſpears or ſabres of an enormous ſize, which they wield with both hands. The chiefs wear coats of mail, formed with plates of iron, or the tough hides of animals, impenetrable to the enemy, but to themſelves an incumbrance ſo unwieldy, that he who falls in battle is never able to riſe again.

In their encounter with the Romans, a heavy fall of rain and a ſudden thaw deprived them of all advantage from the velocity of their horſes; the conſequence was, that they were overwhelmed in a deep waſte of ſnow. The light breaſt-plates of the Romans were no impediment. With their miſſive weapons, and their ſwords of a moderate length, they were able to ruſh into the thickeſt ranks; while the Sarmatians, who wear neither ſhield nor buckler, were a mark at a diſtance, or in cloſe engagement cut to pieces. The few who eſcaped from the ſlaughter, fled for refuge to their fens and marſhes, and there died of their wounds, or periſhed under the inclemency of the ſeaſon. An account of this tranſaction being received at Rome, a triumphal ſtatue was decreed to Marcus Aponius, then governor of Mæſia. Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Numiſius

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Lupus, all three commanders of legions, obtained the conſular ornaments. The joy expreſſed by Otho was beyond all bounds. He aſſumed the merit of the victory, boaſting with vain glory, that, by his own auſpicious fortune, and the valour of his officers and his armies, he had aggrandiſed the Roman name.

LXXX. From a cauſe altogether contemptible, and in its origin threatening no kind of danger, a violent ſedition well nigh involved the city in ruin. The ſeventeenth cohort, then quartered at Oſtia, had orders to remove to Rome. The care of providing them with arms was committed to Varius Criſpinus, a tribune of the prætorian bands. That officer, intending to execute his orders without noiſe or buſtle, choſe his time towards the cloſe of day, when the camp was quiet. He opened the magazine of arms, and ordered the waggons to be loaded. The lateneſs of the hour filled the men with ſuſpicion; the intention ſeemed dark and dangerous, and the affectation of ſecrecy produced a general tumult. The ſoldiers were in liquor, and, at the ſight of their arms, reaſoning like drunken men, they thought it their buſineſs to ſeize them without delay. They murmured, they complained; they charged the tribunes and centurions with treachery, declaring aloud, that a dark conſpiracy was formed, with intention to arm the ſlaves and domeſtics of the ſenators againſt the life of Otho. A ſcene of uproar and confuſion followed. Some were ſtupified with liquor, and comprehended nothing: the profligate liked the opportunity to commit midnight plunder; and the multitude, as uſual, were ready to mix in any ſudden commotion. Thoſe who regarded diſcipline and good order, were undiſtinguiſhed in the dark. The tribune, who attempted to reſtrain their fury, was murdered on the ſpot. The centurions, who exerted themſelves on the occaſion, ſuffered in like manner. The ſoldiers ſeized their arms; they mounted their

their horſes, and, entering the city ſword in hand, ruſhed in a body to the imperial palace.

LXXXI. OTHO was engaged at a grand entertainment, to which he had invited the moſt diſtinguiſhed of both ſexes. A ſudden terror ſeized the whole company. The cauſe was unknown. Was it an accidental fray among the ſoldiers, or the perfidy of the emperor? What was to be done? Should they ſtay and periſh together? or was it more adviſable to diſperſe, and fly different ways? In the hurry and agitation no one could decide. They made a ſhew of reſolution; their courage failed; they ſtood covered with conſternation, and, with their eyes fixed on Otho, endeavoured to peruſe his countenance. The uſual fate of ſuſpicious minds attended them all. They were afraid of Otho, and he ſtood trembling for himſelf. He trembled alſo for the ſenate, and thought of their danger no leſs than of his own. He ordered the two prætorian commanders to go forth, in order to appeaſe the tumult, and, in the mean time, adviſed his company to depart. They fled with precipitation. The magiſtrates threw aſide the enſigns of their office, and diſperſed without their friends, without their train of attendants. Old men and women of diſtinction wandered about in the dark, they knew not whither. Few dared to venture towards their own habitations. The greateſt part took ſhelter with their friends, and where the meaneſt of their dependants lived, that place they thought the ſafeſt refuge.

LXXXII. THE madneſs of the ſoldiers was not to be controuled. They burſt the palace gates, and ruſhed forward to the banqueting room, with outrageous clamour demanding a ſight of Otho. Julius Martialis, one of the tribunes, and Vitellius Saturninus, the præfect of the legion, endeavoured to oppoſe the torrent,

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torrent, and were both wounded in the fray. Nothing was to be ſeen but the flaſh of arms, and nothing heard but threats and denunciations of vengeance, now againſt the centurions, and, at times, againſt the whole body of the ſenate. The ſoldiers neither knew the cauſe nor the object of their phrenzy, and, having no particular victim in view, they reſolved to lay a ſcene of general ſlaughter. They forced their way into the apartment of the prince. Otho, forgetting his own rank and the majeſty of empire, ſtood up on his couch, with tears and ſupplications imploring the ſoldiers to deſiſt. He prevailed at length. The men retired to the camp, with a ſullen ſpirit, and guilt at their hearts. On the following day Rome had the appearance of a city taken by aſſault. The houſes were ſhut, the ſtrects deſerted, the populace in a general panic. The ſoldiers wandered about, in a ſullen mood, with looks of diſcontent, rather than repentance. The two præfects, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, went round to the ſeveral companies, and harangued the men, each according to his own peculiar temper, in ſoothing terms, or in a ſtyle of reproach. A diſtribution of five thouſand ſeſterces to each man concluded the buſineſs. The tumult over, Otho ventured to enter the camp. The tribunes and centurions gathered round him, but without the military ornaments of their rank, praying to be diſmiſſed from the ſervice, that they might retire to live in eaſe and ſafety. The ſoldiers felt the requeſt as a reproach for their own conduct. Remorſe and ſorrow took poſſeſſion of every mind. They expreſſed their willingneſs to return to their duty, and, of their own motion, deſired to ſee the authors of the inſurrection brought to puniſhment.

LXXXIII. In this delicate conjuncture, when the times were big with danger, and a diſcordant ſoldiery heightened the diſtraction, Otho felt that he had a difficult game to play. All, who wiſhed

wiſhed well to the ſervice, called for an immediate reform of the army; while, on the other hand, the looſe and profligate, always the greateſt number, liked nothing ſo well as tumult and inſurrections, under the conduct of an ambitious leader. To ſuch minds Otho knew that the ſtrongeſt motives to a civil war, are the hopes of growing rich by the ſpoils of the public; nor was he to learn, that power, obtained by guilt, is incompatible with a new ſyſtem of laws and the rigour of ancient manners. But ſtill the danger, that hung over the city and the Roman ſenate, filled him with anxiety. In this alarming ſituation, he ſpoke to the following effect:

"I come not now, my fellow-ſoldiers, to excite your zeal for "me, and the cauſe in which we are engaged; much leſs do I "come to add new ardour to your courage. Both are too well "known: they need no incentive. Perhaps ſome reſtraint may "be neceſſary; perhaps the zeal, that pervades you all, requires "a degree of moderation. In the late tumult, it was not the love "of plunder, nor ill-will to any man, or any ſet of men, that "urged you on. From thoſe motives, diſcord and mutiny have "often broke out in various armies; but upon your conduct "they had no effect. Nor was there in that tranſaction any fear "of danger, or ſo much as a wiſh to renounce your duty. It "was your regard for me, ſincere indeed, but generous to exceſs, "that hurried you on to acts of intemperance, and even violence. "You liſtened to your paſſions, but not to your judgment; and "where judgment does not direct and guide, the beſt counſels "and the beſt cauſe are often ruined. We are going forth to a "great and important war. And muſt all intelligence be commu-"nicated to the army? Muſt every ſecret be diſcloſed? And "muſt councils of war be held in a public aſſembly of the ſoldiers? "The reaſon of things, and the opportunity which muſt be

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" ſeized at once, or loſt for ever, will not allow a mode of pro-
" ceeding ſo ſlow and dangerous to the ſervice. To know ſome
" things is the duty of the ſoldier; in others, not to be informed
" is his happineſs, and ſubmiſſion is his virtue. Even the tribunes
" and centurions muſt often receive their orders, without a reaſon
" aſſigned: to know the motives that weigh with the general, is
" not their province; to obey is the duty of the inferior officer.
" If every ſubaltern may diſcuſs the operations of war, and cavil
" with the commander in chief, ſubordination ceaſes, diſcipline
" is at an end, and the beſt concerted enterpriſe may be defeated.
" And are we now to imagine, that the ſoldier, when the enemy
" is at hand, may ſeize his arms, and, as caprice or fancy prompts,
" ſally forth in the dead of night? Shall two or three drunken
" men (in the laſt night's fray, I do not believe there were more)
" imbrue their hands in the blood of their officers? Shall they
" murder the centurions, and, in a fit of phrenzy, ruſh to the
" pavilion of their general?

LXXXIV. " You, my fellow-ſoldiers, have tranſgreſſed the
" bounds of your duty; the fact muſt be admitted; but your
" zeal for me was the cauſe. And yet, reflect for a moment,
" what might have been the conſequence? Amidſt that ge-
" neral uproar, in the gloom of midnight darkneſs, the aſſaſſin's
" blow might have been aimed at me, whom you wiſhed to de-
" fend. Give Vitellius his option; let him and his rebel ſoldiers
" have the power of chooſing, and what greater curſe could they
" invoke? what calamity could they call down upon us, ſo much
" to be dreaded, as a turbulent and factious ſpirit, and all the
" evils of diſcord and ſedition? Let the ſoldier refuſe to obey his
" centurion; let the centurion ſhake off the authority of the tri-
" bune; let the cavalry and the foot ſoldiers be intermixed,
" without order or diſtinction; and let us all, in one promiſcuous
" body,

" body, go forward to the war. Need our enemies wiſh for more? " We ſhould ruſh on ſure deſtruction. It is obedience, my fel- " low ſoldiers, implicit, prompt obedience *(a)*, without pauſing " to wrangle with our ſuperior officer, that gives to military " operations all their energy. The army that ſhews itſelf, " in time of peace, attentive to diſcipline and good order, " is ſure to be the moſt formidable in the day of battle. It is " yours to arm in the cauſe of your country, and to face the enemy " with heroic valour: be it mine to form the plan of operations, " and, in the execution, to direct and guide the courage of the " army. The guilt of laſt night extends to a few only; and " of thoſe few, two only ſhall expiate the offence. That done, let " us bury in oblivion the horrors of that ſhameful tumult; and " may no other army hear thoſe dreadful imprecations uttered " againſt a Roman ſenate. Againſt that venerable body, the " head of the empire, and the fountain, from which juſtice flows " through the provinces, not even Vitellius, nor his raſh-levied " crew of Germans, would dare to meditate ſo vile a deed.

" And can there be in Italy a race of men, the genuine offſpring " of Roman citizens, who are capable of ſo foul a parricide? " Who can lift their impious hands againſt the ſacred order, from " whom our cauſe derives ſo much luſtre, to the confuſion of Vi- " tellius, and the ſcum of nations that follows him to the field? " Some ſtates, it is true, have been induced to join his ſtandard; " he has the appearance of an army; but the ſenate is on our ſide. " The commonwealth is with us; our enemies are the enemies of " Rome. And when I mention Rome, when you yourſelves " behold that magnificent city, do you imagine that it conſiſts in " walls, and buildings, and a pile of ſtones? Inanimate ſtructures, " and mute and ſenſeleſs edifices may moulder away, and riſe " again out of their ruins: but the ſtability of empire depends

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" upon the ſenate: upon the ſafety of that auguſt aſſembly, the " welfare of the community, the peace of nations, your fate and " mine are grafted. It was Romulus, the founder of the city, and " the father of the Roman ſtate, who inſtituted, with ſolemn " auſpices, that ſacred order. It has ſubſiſted in vigour from that " time; from the expulſion of Tarquin, to the eſtabliſhment of " the Cæſars, it has been preſerved inviolate. We received it " from our anceſtors; let us tranſmit it to our poſterity, unſhaken, " unimpaired, immortal. From your order, from the people at " large, the ſenate is ſupplied with its brighteſt ornaments; and " from the ſenate you derive a ſucceſſion of princes."

LXXXV. THIS ſpeech, ſeaſoned with reproof, yet tempered with conciliating language, was favourably received; and the moderation of the prince, who puniſhed only two of the mutineers, gave general ſatisfaction. By that lenient meaſure, the ſoldiers, too fierce to be controuled, were quieted for the preſent. Rome, however, was not in a ſtate of tranquillity. A conſtant din of arms was heard, and warlike preparations were ſeen in every quarter. The ſoldiers did not, as before, riot in tumultuous bodies; but, being diſperſed throughout the city, they found means, in various ſhapes, to inſinuate themſelves into houſes, where they watched, with ſufficient malignity, the motions and words of all, who by their nobility, their wealth, or their talents, were eminent enough to be objects of calumny. A report prevailed at the ſame time, that Vitellius had a number of emiſſaries diſperſed among the populace, to act as ſpies, and watch the ſtate of parties. Hence jealouſy, miſtruſt and fear. No man thought himſelf ſafe under his own roof. Abroad and under the eye of the public the alarm was ſtill greater. Whatever was the rumour of the day, all degrees and ranks were obliged to ſet their faces for the occaſion: if bad, they were afraid of ſeeming to deſpond; and, if propitious,

tious, unwilling to be thought backward in demonſtrations of joy. With events of either kind, their features were taught to comply.

The fathers had the hardeſt taſk. Silence in the ſenate might be thought ſullen diſcontent, and liberty of ſpeech might be deemed a crime. Adulation itſelf was at a ſtand. Who could deceive a prince, who was but lately a private man, and, in that ſtation, practiſed flattery, till he became a perfect maſter of that inſidious art? The fathers were driven to little ſtratagems; they tortured every ſentence into a thouſand forms, and, to diverſify one and the ſame thought, all the colours of rhetoric were exhauſted. All agreed to call Vitellius a PUBLIC ENEMY AND A PARRICIDE. This was the burthen of every ſpeech. Cautious men, who looked forward to their own ſecurity, avoided entering into particulars, content with hackneyed declamation: others, without reſerve or management, poured out a torrent of virulent invective, but generally choſe to riſe in the midſt of noiſe and clamour, when nothing could be diſtinctly heard, and the ſpeaker could mouth and bellow, without the danger of being underſtood or remembered.

LXXXVI. A NUMBER of prodigies, announced from different quarters, diffuſed a general panic. The goddeſs of victory, in the veſtibule of the capitol, let the reins of two horſes, harneſſed to her chariot, fall from her hand. A form of more than human ſize was ſeen to iſſue from the chapel of Juno. In an iſland in the Tiber *(a)*, the ſtatue of Julius Cæſar, without any apparent cauſe, on a day perfectly ſerene and calm, turned round from the weſt to the eaſt. In Etruria an ox was ſaid to have ſpoken: animals brought forth monſtrous births, and to theſe was added a variety of præternatural appearances, ſuch as in rude and barbarous ages were the coinage of ſuperſtition; and, even in pro-

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found peace, made an impreſſion on vulgar credulity, though of late years they have ſo far loſt their effect, that, unleſs it be a time of public diſtreſs, they paſs away unheeded and forgotten. Amidſt the omens, which ſeemed to threaten impending danger, an inundation of the Tiber was the moſt alarming. The waters ſwelled above their banks, and overflowed the adjacent country. The Sublician bridge was carried away by the flood; and the ruins, that fell in, obſtructing the courſe of the river, the torrent was driven back with ſuch impetuous violence, that not only the level parts of the city, but even the higher grounds were covered with a general deluge *(b)*. The people in the ſtreets were ſwallowed up, and numbers were drowned in their ſhops, and in their beds. The corn in the public granaries was deſtroyed; a famine enſued, and the common people were reduced to the laſt diſtreſs. The waters, that lay for ſome time in the ſtreets of Rome, ſapped the foundation of ſeveral inſulated houſes, and when the flood fell back into its channel, the ſuperſtructure tumbled to the ground. This diſaſter was no ſooner over, than a new occurrence ſpread a general terror. Otho was preparing to ſet out on his expedition. His way was over the field of Mars, and the Flaminian road; but both places were impaſſable. This circumſtance, though accidental, or the effect of natural cauſes, was magnified into a prodigy, by which the gods denounced the ſlaughter of armies and a train of public calamities.

LXXXVII. The emperor ordered a luſtration *(a)*, and having purified the city, turned his thoughts to the conduct of the war. The Penine and the Cottian Alps, with all the paſſes into Italy, were in the poſſeſſion of Vitellius and his armies. Otho reſolved, therefore, to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Narbon Gaul, with a fleet well manned, and in force to keep the command of thoſe ſeas. All who ſurvived the maſſacre at the Mil-

vian bridge, and had been, by Galba's orders, thrown into priſon, were releaſed by Otho, and incorporated with the legions. He depended on the fidelity of thoſe men, and, by giving to others the like hopes of preferment, he inſpired the whole body with zeal and ardour. In order to ſtrengthen his fleet, he embarked the city cohorts, and a conſiderable detachment from the prætorian guards; a body of men capable of defending their generals by their courage, and of aſſiſting with their advice. The conduct of the marine was committed to three officers; namely, Antonius Novellus and Suedius Clemens, both centurions of principal rank, and Æmilius Pacenſis, a tribune degraded by Galba, but, ſince the death of that emperor, reſtored his rank. A freedman of the name of Oſcus was appointed to direct the operations of the fleet, and act as a ſpy on better men than himſelf. The land forces, both horſe and infantry, were put under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celſus, and Annius Gallus. To them was added Licinius Proculus, the præfect of the prætorians, and in him Otho repoſed his whole confidence. This officer, in time of peace, diſcharged the functions of his ſtation with ſufficient ability; but he had ſeen no ſervice, and had therefore no ſkill in military affairs. He had talents for miſchief, and knew how to obſtruct the authority of Paulinus, to check the ardour of Celſus, and to thwart the judgment of Gallus. An enemy to every excellence of thoſe three officers, he found, as uſually happens, that worth and modeſt merit were no match for malice and left-handed policy.

LXXXVIII. Before Otho ſet out from Rome, Cornelius Dolabella was, by his order, conveyed under a guard to the Aquinian colony *(a)*, there to be kept out of the way, but not in cloſe confinement. His only crime was the antiquity of his family, and his affinity to Galba. Several magiſtrates, and others

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others of conſular rank, had it in command to attend Otho on his expedition, not to aſſiſt in the war by their counſels or their valour, but to ſwell the pomp of the emperor's retinue. In the number was Lucius Vitellius, who was ſuffered to mix with the reſt of the train, undiſtinguiſhed either as the brother of one emperor, or the enemy of another. During theſe preparations, Rome preſented a ſcene of hurry and confuſion. No order of men was exempt from fear or danger. The principal ſenators, enfeebled by age, or ſoftened by a long peace; the nobility, ſunk in ſloth; and the Roman knights, who had loſt their warlike ſpirit, were all obliged to put themſelves in readineſs. They aſſumed an air of courage, but their fears were ſeen through the vain diſguiſe. Some affected to make a diſplay of their alacrity. They bought with vain oſtentation the moſt ſplendid armour, horſes for parade, and all the conveniences of a luxurious table, as if ſuch implements were a neceſſary part of their camp-equipage. The wiſe and moderate thought of nothing but their own ſafety and the public welfare; while the vain and ſenſeleſs, whoſe views did not extend to remote conſequences, filled their minds with chimerical expectations; and all, who were bankrupts both in fame and fortune, hoped to find in the diſtractions of their country that ſecurity, which, in quiet times, they had never known.

LXXXIX. The people at large, unacquainted with the ſecrets of ſtate, and of courſe free from ſolicitude, began, however, to feel the ill effects of the impending war. They ſaw the public revenue exhauſted in the ſervice of the army; they laboured under a ſcarcity of proviſions, and the price was riſing every day; whereas, in the troubles ſtirred up by Vindex, none of thoſe inconveniences affected the city of Rome. That commotion was at a diſtance, a war in the remote parts of Gaul, decided

decided between the legions and the provincial inſurgents. The Roman citizens looked on in perfect tranquillity, as if it were no more than a foreign quarrel. From the reign of Auguſtus, when that emperor eſtabliſhed the power of the Cæſars, this had conſtantly been the caſe. The iſſue of every war affected the ſovereign only. Under Tiberius and Caligula, the evils of peace were the worſt calamities. The attempt of Scribonianus *(a)* to ſhake the authority of Claudius was cruſhed as ſoon as diſcovered. Nero was undone by rumours and vague intelligence, not by force of arms. In the preſent juncture, the face of things was changed. The preſſure was felt at home. The fleets and legions were in motion, and, beyond all example, the prætorian bands and city cohorts were obliged to take the field. The eaſt and weſt were engaged in the conteſt; the ſeveral provinces, which the leading chiefs left behind them, were up in arms; and, under better generals, there were ample materials for a long and difficult war. Otho was now on the point of beginning his march. A ſcruple was ſtarted to deter him from proceeding, till the ceremony of depoſiting the ſacred ſhields called the ANCILIA *(b)* was performed with due rites and ceremonies. He rejected the advice. Delay had been the ruin of Nero, and Cæcina by this time had paſſed the Alps. The time called for vigour and expedition.

XC. ON the day preceding the ides of March, Otho called a meeting of the ſenate. He recommended the care of the commonwealth to the wiſdom of that aſſembly, and ordered the property of ſuch as had been recalled from baniſhment, ſince the death of Nero, to be reſtored to the reſpective owners. To this liberality nothing could be objected: it was an act of juſtice, in appearance magnificent, but of little uſe, as the public officers had already ſeized the whole into their own hands. From the

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ſenate Otho proceeded to harangue the people: he talked in a pompous ſtyle of the fathers, and the majeſty of the Roman citizens. He mentioned the adverſe party in managed terms, imputing to the legions error in judgment, rather than a turbulent and factious ſpirit. Of Vitellius he made no mention; perhaps from motives of delicacy, or more probably, becauſe the writer of the ſpeech, looking forward to his own ſafety, thought it prudent to exclude all perſonal invective. For the laſt opinion there ſeems to be ſome foundation. In all military operations, Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celſus were Otho's confidential adviſers; but in matters that concerned the civil adminiſtration, Galerius Trachalus *(a)* was the perſon on whoſe talents he relied. That miniſter had gained reputation at the bar; and thoſe, who were beſt acquainted with his mode of eloquence, and the harmony of his copious periods, diſcovered, in the compoſition of the ſpeech, the ſtyle and manner of that celebrated orator. Otho was received with acclamations: the populace, according to cuſtom, yielded to the impulſe of the moment, full of ſound and ſervile adulation, but nothing from the heart. You would have thought that it was Cæſar the dictator, or Auguſtus the emperor, for whom they contended with ſo much emulation. And yet, in all this ſhew of zeal, there was at the bottom neither love nor fear; ſervility was the motive; all courted the yoke, and all ruſhed headlong into ſlavery. The public, at this time, preſented no better ſpectacle than what is ſeen every day in a family of domeſtic ſlaves: each individual had his own private views; and for the public intereſt, or the honour of the ſtate, no care remained. Otho was now ready to depart: he left the government of Rome, and the whole weight of empire, to his brother Salvius Titianus *(b)*, and proceeded on his expedition.

END OF BOOK I.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK II.

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I. *TITUS, ſent by his father Veſpaſian to congratulate Galba, hears of that emperor's death, and ſtops at Corinth. He reſolves to return to Syria, and ſails to Rhodes and Cyprus. At the laſt place he viſits the temple of the Paphian Venus; ſome account of the goddeſs, and the rites of worſhip. He lands in Syria.* V. *Character of Veſpaſian, and of Mucianus. They lay aſide their mutual animoſities, and act in concert. The legions of the eaſt reſolved to have a ſhare in the making of emperors.* VIII. *A counterfeit Nero detected and ſeized.* X. *From trivial matters great diſcord at Rome. Vibius Criſpus accuſes Annius Fauſtus, an informer, and procures his condemnation, though hated himſelf for the ſame practices.* XI. *An account of Otho's forces.* XII. *His fleets command the ſea extending to the maritime Alps. The city of Intemelium ſacked and plundered by the Othonians. The exemplary courage of a mother in the protection of her ſon.* XIV. *Otho's fleet infeſts the coaſt of Narbon Gaul. An engagement with the Vitellians in that quarter, in which the Othonians have the advantage.* XVI. *Pacarius, the governor of Corſica, favours the cauſe of Vitellius, and is murdered.* XVII. *Cæcina, with the Vitellian forces, enters Italy, and beſieges Placentia. Spurinna, one of Otho's officers, defends the place. Cæcina raiſes the ſiege, and retires with his army to Cremona. A battle at that place, and the Othonians prove victorious. Valens enters Italy. Cæcina reſolves to ſtrike a*

blow before the arrival of that general. He lays a ſnare for the Othonians, but is defeated by Suetonius Paullinus at a place called Caſtorum. King Epiphanes, on Otho's ſide, is wounded. XXVII. *Valens arrives at Ticinum. A violent ſedition occaſioned by the Batavians. Valens joins the army under Cæcina.* XXXI. *Compariſon of Otho and Vitellius. Otho holds a council to deliberate on the plan of the war. Some are for delay; others for an immediate action. Otho is for a deciſive blow, and, by advice, retires to Brixellum.* XXXIV. *Cæcina and Valens wait for the motions of the enemy. A bridge thrown over the Po to amuſe Otho's forces, who are worſted in a ſkirmiſh.* XXXVII. *A report that both armies were inclined to peace, ſhewn to be highly improbable.* XXXIX. *Titianus, Otho's brother, and Proculus, the præfect of the prætorian bands, entruſted with the chief command. They encamp within four miles of Bedriacum. Otho, by diſpatches from Brixellum, hurries them on to an engagement.* XLI. *The battle of Bedriacum. The Othonians defeated, and on the next day lay down their arms. The Vitellians enter the camp, and both armies embrace with tears of joy.* XLV. *Otho is weary of civil war, and, though the ſoldiers are ſtill devoted to his cauſe, reſolves to prevent further effuſion of blood; he falls on his own ſword. His funeral immediately performed; ſome of the men ſlay themſelves near the funeral pile.* L. *Otho's origin and character.* LI. *A mutiny among his ſoldiers; Verginius in danger from their fury.* LII. *A great part of the ſenate, who had followed Otho, involved in danger.* LV. *Tranquillity prevails at Rome. The games in honour of Ceres celebrated according to cuſtom. Otho's death made known in the theatre: the people declare for Vitellius with ſhouts of applauſe.* LVI. *Italy ravaged by the Vitellians.* LVII. *Vitellius advances towards Italy, and hears of the victory gained by his officers. The two Mauri-*

tanias

tanias declare in his favour; Albinus their governor cut off by the emiſſaries of Cluvius Rufus, who had paſſed over from Spain into Africa. LX. *Vitellius orders the braveſt of Otho's centurions to be put to death. The wild attempt of Mariccus in Gaul. In a fit of enthuſiaſm he calls himſelf a god: he is taken, and put to death.* LXII. *The gluttony of Vitellius: Italy exhauſted to ſupply his voracious appetite. In his diſpatches to Rome he declines for the preſent the name of Auguſtus, and wholly rejects that of Cæſar. The judicial aſtrologers baniſhed out of Italy. Laws for reſtraining the Roman knights from appearing on the ſtage, or in the games of the circus.* LXIII. *Dolabella put to death with treachery by Vitellius. The furious temper of Triaria, the wife of L. Vitellius, and the amiable character of his mother Sextilia.* LXV. *Cluvius Rufus arrives from Spain, and is pardoned by Vitellius. The vanquiſhed troops ſtill retain their ferocity. A quarrel between the Batavians and the ſoldiers of the fourteenth legion.* LXVIII. *A violent ſedition at Ticinum, while Vitellius carouſes at a feaſt.* LXX. *Vitellius proceeds to Cremona, and views the field of battle at Bedriacum, which was ſtill covered with a dreadful carnage. He vies with the luxury of Nero, and marches to Bononia, ſtill plunging into deeper debauchery, as he draws near to Rome.* LXXII. *A ſlave of the name of Geta aſſumes the name of Scribonianus: he is detected and put to death by order of Vitellius.* LXXIV. *Deliberations held in the eaſt by Veſpaſian and Mucianus. The ſpeech of Mucianus on the occaſion.* LXXVII. *Veſpaſian encouraged by the reſponſes of oracles. His conſultation on mount Carmel.* LXXIX. *Veſpaſian is declared emperor, firſt in Ægypt, and afterwaras by the army in Syria.* LXXXI. *The kings Sohemus, Antiochus, and Agrippa, as alſo queen Berenice, enter into the league.* LXXXII. *Plan of the war; Veſpaſian holds Ægypt in his poſſeſſion: his ſon Titus carries*

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Theſe tranſactions paſſed in a few months after the death of Galba, and Vinius his colleague in the conſulſhip.

Year of Rome	— of Chriſt	Conſuls.
822	69	*M. Salvius Otho, Salvius Otho Titianus.*
		L. Verginius Ruſus, Pompeius Vopiſcus.
		Cælius Sabinus, T. Flavius Sabinus.
		T. Arrius Antoninus, P. Marius Celſus.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK II.

I. FORTUNE was already preparing, in another quarter of the world, to open an important ſcene, and to produce to mankind a new imperial family, deſtined, at firſt *(a)*, to flouriſh in proſperity, and, in the end, after a diſaſtrous reign, to fall by a dreadful cataſtrophe. While Galba ſtill poſſeſſed the ſovereign power, Titus, by order of Veſpaſian, his father, ſet out from Judæa, with congratulations to that emperor, and, as was natural, with the ambition of a young man, eager to begin the career *(b)* of public honours. The common people, according to their cuſtom, found deeper reaſons for the journey. Titus, they believed, was to be adopted heir to the empire, and what they believed they took care to circulate. The advanced age of

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Galba,

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Galba, and his want of iſſue, gave colour to the ſtory; and the buſy ſpirit of the populace relied on vain conjecture, impatient to decide what ſtill remained in ſuſpenſe. The character, and perſonal accompliſhments of Titus, added weight to the report. He had talents for the higheſt ſtation, and to the dignity of his ſtature united a graceful mien and amiable countenance. The ſucceſs, that attended the exploits of the father, threw a luſtre round the ſon: oracular reſponſes *(c)* foretold the grandeur of the family; and, while the minds of men ſtood ready for the reception of every rumour, even trifling incidents, the mere reſult of chance, confirmed the popular opinion. At Corinth in Achaia, Titus received intelligence of the death of Galba, and, at the ſame time, undoubted aſſurances, that Vitellius, at the head of powerful armies, was in motion to claim the empire. In this poſture of affairs, he called a council of ſelect friends. The conjuncture was alarming, and to chooſe among difficulties, was all that was left. "If he proceeded on his way to Rome, the "homage intended for a prince now no more, would have no "merit with his ſucceſſor; and to remain a hoſtage in the cuſtody "of Otho, or Vitellius, would, moſt probably, be his lot. On the "other hand, if he returned to Judæa, that cold indifference "would give umbrage to the conqueror; and yet, while the iſſue "of the war was ſtill uncertain, the conduct of a young man "would admit of alleviating circumſtances in the opinion of "the prince, whom Veſpaſian ſhould think proper to join. Above "all, it was poſſible that Veſpaſian might declare himſelf a can-"didate: in that caſe, petty offences would be of little conſe-"quence, when all were to be involved in a general war."

II. AFTER balancing the motives on every ſide, and fluctuating for ſome time between oppoſite paſſions, hope, at length, prevailed, and Titus returned to Judæa. A change ſo ſudden

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was by ſome imputed to his love of queen Berenice *(a)*. It is true, that princeſs had engaged his affections; but the buſineſs of his heart never interfered with the duties of his ſtation. Youth being the ſeaſon of pleaſure, Titus gave a looſe to thoſe deſires, which he afterwards ſo well knew how to regulate. In his own reign he was remarkable for that ſelf-controul, which he never practiſed under his father. He ſet ſail from Corinth, and after ſteering along the coaſt of Achaia and Aſia, which lay to the left, he directed his courſe towards Rhodes and Cyprus. From thoſe iſlands he went, by a more bold navigation *(b)*, acroſs the open ſea to the coaſt of Syria. At Cyprus curioſity led him to viſit the temple of the Paphian Venus, famous for the worſhip paid by the inhabitants, and the conflux of ſtrangers, who reſorted thither from all parts. If we take this opportunity to trace the origin of that ſingular worſhip *(c)*, and to deſcribe the ſituation of the temple, and the form of the Goddeſs, differing entirely from what is ſeen in any other place, the digreſſion will, perhaps, be neither tedious, nor unacceptable to the reader.

III. The founder of the temple, if we believe ancient tradition, was king Aerias; a name aſcribed by ſome writers *(a)* to the goddeſs herſelf. According to a more recent opinion, the temple was built and dedicated by king Cinyras *(b)*, on the ſpot, where the goddeſs, after emerging from her native waves, was gently wafted to the ſhore. The ſcience of divination, we are told, was of foreign growth, imported by Thamiras *(c)*, the Cilician, and by him eſtabliſhed with myſterious rites and ceremonies. In conſequence of this inſtitution, it was ſettled, by mutual compact, between the prieſt and Cinyras, the king of the iſland, that the ſacerdotal function ſhould be hereditary in the deſcendants of their reſpective families. In proceſs of time, the race of Thamiras, willing that the ſovereign ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by a ſupe-

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ſuperior prerogative, reſigned into the hands of Cinyras the whole conduct of the myſteries, of which their anceſtors were the original founders. A prieſt of the royal line is, at preſent, the only perſon conſulted. For victims, to be offered as a ſacrifice, animals of every ſpecies are allowed, at the option of the votariſt, provided he chooſes from the male kind only. Diſcoveries made in the fibres of kids are deemed the beſt prognoſtics. The altar is never ſtained with blood, and, though expoſed to the open air, never moiſtened *(d)* by a drop of rain. Supplications and the pure flame of fire are the only offerings. The ſtatue of the goddeſs bears no reſemblance to the human form. You ſee a round figure, broad at the baſe, but growing fine by degrees, till, like a cone, it leſſens to a point. The reaſon *(e)*, whatever it be, is not explained.

IV. TITUS viewed the wealth of the temple, the preſents of eaſtern kings, and the collection of rarities, which the genius of the Greeks, fond of tradition and the decorations of fabulous narrative, affected to trace from remote antiquity. He then conſulted the oracle about his future voyage. A calm ſea and a ſafe paſſage were promiſed. He ſlew a number of victims, and, in terms properly guarded, attempted to pry into his own deſtiny. The prieſt, whoſe name was Soſtratus, explored the entrails of various animals, and, finding that the goddeſs was propitious, anſwered, for the preſent, in the uſual ſtyle, but afterwards, at a ſecret interview, laid open a ſcene of glory. Titus, with a mind enlarged, and ſwelling with vaſt ideas, proceeded on his voyage, and joined his father. The armies and provinces of the eaſt were at that time wavering; but the preſence of Titus inſpired them with vigour and alacrity. Veſpaſian had almoſt brought the Jewiſh war to a concluſion. Nothing remained but the ſiege of Jeruſalem *(a)*; an arduous enterpriſe, which threatened great toil and

and difficulty, not on account of the ſtrength or reſources of the enemy, but by reaſon of a hill almoſt inacceſſible, and what was ſtill more hard to conquer, the ſtubborn genius of ſuperſtition. Veſpaſian, as already mentioned, had three legions under his command, all inured to the ſervice, and eager againſt the enemy. Mucianus, in a province where profound tranquillity was eſtabliſhed, was at the head of four legions, not, as uſual in time of peace, relaxed in indolence, but animated by the gallant exertions of the army under Veſpaſian, and fired with a ſpirit of emulation. Having no enemy to oppoſe, they were not made ſoldiers in the field; but their ſpirit was rouſed, and, being unimpaired by fatigue, they were ready for a vigorous campaign. The two commanders had an additional force of auxiliary horſe and foot, beſides a naval armament on the coaſt, and the ſupport of all the neighbouring kings. Add to this, their own military character was a tower of ſtrength. Both ſtood high in reputation, but for different reaſons, and for qualities peculiar to each.

V. VESPASIAN poſſeſſed all the requiſites that form a ſoldier and an officer. Prompt and zealous in the ſervice, he was often ſeen at the head of a march; he went in perſon to mark out the ground of his camp, and, by night as well as day, he kept the enemy in a conſtant alarm, planning his meaſures with judgment, and executing with vigour. To his diet he paid no regard, content with whatever came before him. In his apparel, plain and ſimple, he was ſcarce diſtinguiſhed from the common men. With all this he had a leaven of avarice. Forgive that vice, and he was equal to the beſt generals of antiquity.

Mucianus was of a different caſt. Rich and magnificent, he appeared with an air of elevation above the rank of a private citizen. An able orator, and verſed in civil buſineſs, he laid his ſchemes

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with judgment: the politician appeared in all his meaſures. In the two men was ſeen a rare aſſemblage of extraordinary qualities. By weeding out the vices of each, and uniting their virtues, the commonwealth would have had an accompliſhed prince. Situated as they were in contiguous provinces, Veſpaſian in Judæa, and Mucianus in Syria, they beheld each other, for ſome time, with the jealouſy of rivals. The death of Nero put an end to their diſſenſions. From that time they began to act in concert. Their mutual friends made the firſt advances towards a reconciliation, and, by the addreſs of Titus, a mere ceſſation of animoſities was turned into a laſting peace. The power of winning the affections of men was in an eminent degree the talent of that young officer. Nature and art conſpired to render him acceptable to all; and even Mucianus could not reſiſt his influence. The tribunes, the centurions, and the common men were, by various artifices, fixed in the intereſt of the two commanders. The diligent met with encouragement, the licentious with indulgence, and, according to the bent of each man's diſpoſition, all were ſecured by their virtues or their vices.

VI. BEFORE the arrival of Titus, both armies had ſworn fidelity to Otho, with the precipitation of men who had quick intelligence of all that paſſed at Rome. They were not, in that juncture, ripe for a revolt. Preparations for a civil war are in their nature ſlow and difficult. The eaſt had been compoſed by a long peace, and now, for the firſt time, began to think of mixing in the feuds that ſhook the empire. They had hitherto ſeen the convulſions of the ſtate at a diſtance only. The quarrel always broke out in Gaul or Italy, and was there decided by the forces of the weſt. It is true, that Pompey, Caſſius, Brutus, and Anthony, carried the war acroſs the Mediterranean, and had reaſon to repent. Syria and Judæa heard of the Cæſars, but ſeldom

ſeldom ſaw them. The legions, undiſturbed by ſedition, had no war upon their hands. Embroiled at different times with the Parthians *(a)*, they had a few ſlight conflicts, with doubtful ſucceſs, and paſſed the reſt of the year in profound tranquillity. In the late civil war *(b)*, when every part of the empire was in motion, the eaſt was perfectly quiet. Galba obtained the ſovereignty, and the oriental legions acquieſced; but it was no ſooner known that Otho and Vitellius were engaged in an impious war againſt their country, than they began to ſhake off their pacific temper. They ſaw the ſupreme authority in the hands of other armies, who granted it away at their own pleaſure, and reaped the profits of every revolution, while the ſoldiers of the eaſt had nothing but a change of ſervitude, condemned, at the will of others, to ſubmit to new maſters.

Diſcontent and loud complaints were heard throughout the army. The common men began to ſurvey their ſtrength and numbers. They reckoned ſeven legions *(c)*, beſides a large body of auxiliaries. Syria and Judæa were in their poſſeſſion. Ægypt had two legions at their ſervice. Cappadocia and Pontus afforded ample reſources; and the forces that lined the frontier of Armenia, ſtood ready at their beck. Aſia, and the reſt of the provinces, were provided with men and money. In a word, the iſlands, and the ſea that ſurrounds them, were under their command; and the Mediterranean, while it ſeparated them from the reſt of the empire, left them at leiſure to prepare for war.

VII. The zeal of the ſoldiers was no ſecret to the commanders in chief; but they judged it beſt to wait the iſſue of the war in Europe; aware that, between the victor and the vanquiſhed, a ſincere coalition never can ſucceed, and whether fortune favoured the arms of Otho or Vitellius, the conſequence in either event would

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would be the ſame. And if the pride of victory is apt to corrupt the ableſt generals, from the preſent chiefs what was to be expected? Their own vices would deſtroy them. Diſcord, ſloth, and luxury would be the ruin of both: one would be undone by the fate of war, and the other by ſucceſs. For theſe reaſons it was agreed to ſuſpend all military operations. Veſpaſian and Mucianus, lately reconciled to each other, concurred in this opinion, which had been beforehand adopted by their friends. Men of principle gave their advice with a view to the public good; others looked for their own private advantage; and public confuſion was the only reſource of ſuch as, in their domeſtic affairs, ſaw nothing but diſtreſs and ruin. One mind, one ſpirit pervaded the whole army. Good and evil motives conſpired, and, for different reaſons, war became the paſſion of all.

VIII. About this period of time, a report that Nero was ſtill alive, and actually on his way to the provinces of the eaſt, excited a general alarm through Achaia and Aſia. The accounts of that emperor's death *(a)* had been ſo various, that conjecture had ample materials. Hence numbers aſſerted that Nero ſurvived the fury of his enemies, and they found credulity ready to believe them. In the courſe of this work the reader will hear of various pretenders, and the fate that attended them. The impoſtor who now took upon him to perſonate that emperor, was a ſlave from Pontus, or, according to ſome writers, a freedman from Italy, who played with ſkill on the harp, and had a muſical voice. With thoſe talents, and a countenance that reſembled Nero, he was able to impoſe on vulgar minds. By the force of promiſes he drew to his party a number of deſerters, whom their poverty induced to lead a vagrant life. With this crew he put to ſea, but was thrown by adverſe winds on the iſle of Cythnus. At that place he fell in with a party of ſoldiers

on their return from the eaſt. Some of theſe he liſted; and ſuch as refuſed, he ordered to be put to death. Having plundered the merchants, and armed the ſtouteſt of their ſlaves, he endeavoured to ſeduce Siſenna, a centurion from Syria, who happened to land on the iſland of Cythnus, on his way to greet the prætorian bands in the name of the Syrian army, and, in token of friendſhip, to preſent two right hands claſping each other. Apprehending danger from ſo bold an adventurer, Siſenna made his eſcape from the iſland. A general panic ſeized the inhabitants. Numbers rejoiced to find the name of Nero once more revived, and, hating the new ſyſtem, wiſhed for nothing ſo much as another revolution.

IX. The fame of this pretended Nero gained credit every day, when by a ſudden accident the illuſion vaniſhed. It happened that Calpurnius Aſprenas, whom Galba had appointed governor of Galatia and Pamphylia, arrived, on his way to thoſe provinces, at the iſle of Cythnus, with two galleys from the fleet that lay at Miſenum. The commanders of the ſhips were ſummoned, in the name of Nero, to attend their lawful prince. The impoſtor continued to act his part. He received the naval officers with an air of dejection, and, by the duty, which they owed him, implored their aſſiſtance, and ſafe conduct either to Syria, or to Ægypt. The maſters of the galleys, alarmed at the propoſal, or intending to deceive, deſired time to prepare the minds of their ſailors, faithfully promiſing to return without delay. Aſprenas, duly informed of all that paſſed, gave orders to attack the impoſtor and his crew of adherents. The ſhip was ſeized, and the pretended emperor, whoever he was, ſuffered death. The air of the man, his eyes, his hair, and the ferocity of his countenance *(a)*, bore a ſtrong reſemblance to Nero. His body was conveyed to Aſia, and afterwards ſent to Rome.

X. In

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X. In a city, diſtracted by internal diſcord, and, after ſo many revolutions, fierce with a ſpirit of liberty that led to the wildeſt anarchy, no tranſaction, however trifling in itſelf, could paſs, without exciting violent commotions. Vibius Criſpus, a man for his wealth, his power, and his talents, always ranked among the moſt eminent citizens, but never for his virtues numbered with the good, cited to the bar of the ſenate, Annius Fauſtus, a Roman knight, and in the reign of Nero an informer by profeſſion. In the beginning of Galba's reign, it was ordained by a decree, that all cauſes againſt the race of public accuſers ſhould be fairly heard. This law, however ſalutary, was forced to yield to the temper of the times; it was enforced, or relaxed, as the perſon accuſed happened to be of weight and conſequence, or poor and friendleſs: it was, notwithſtanding, ſtill in force; and Criſpus, availing himſelf of it, exerted all his influence to ruin the man, who had been the proſecutor of his brother *(a)*. In the ſenate his party was ſtrong and powerful. Without hearing the criminal, the fathers were for condemning him to immediate execution. The violence of this proceeding ſtirred up an oppoſition. A party was formed againſt the overgrown power of the proſecutor. They inſiſted that the ſpecific charge ſhould be exhibited, and a day fixed, when the delinquent, however guilty, ſhould be allowed the common right of being heard in his defence. This motion was carried, and the hearing of the cauſe was adjourned for a few days. The trial, at length, came on, and Fauſtus was condemned, but not with that univerſal aſſent of the people, which a life of iniquity might have warranted. The accuſer, it was well known, had been concerned in the conduct of proſecutions, and received the profits of his trade. Men rejoiced to ſee the puniſhment of a crime ſo dangerous and deteſtable; but the triumph of a notorious offender gave diſguſt.

XI. Mean-

XI. MEANWHILE, the affairs of Otho wore a favourable aſpect. The armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia were on their march to join him. A detachment of two thouſand advanced by rapid marches, while the main body followed at moderate diſtances. The legions, that compoſed this force, were the ſeventh, which had been raiſed by Galba; the eleventh, the thirteenth, and fourteenth, all veterans in the ſervice, and the laſt in great renown for the vigour with which they quelled the inſurrection in Britain *(a)*, and ſtill more famous for the choice made by Nero, who had ſelected that corps as the beſt in the empire. They remained, to the laſt, faithful to that emperor, and, after his death, declared with equal zeal in favour of Otho. Knowing their own ſtrength, they were inſpired with confidence, but a confidence that made them judge for themſelves, and proceed on their march by ſlow journeys, as their humour prompted. The cavalry and auxiliary cohorts came forward with more alacrity.

The troops, that marched from Rome, were a formidable body. They conſiſted of five prætorian cohorts, ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe, and the firſt legion. To theſe were added two thouſand gladiators; a reſource altogether ignoble, but in civil commotions often employed by generals of the firſt reputation. Annius Gallus and Veſtricius Spurinna *(b)* were ſent at the head of this whole force, with orders to take poſt on the banks of the Po. The firſt intention was to keep the enemy locked up in Gaul; but that project proved abortive, Cæcina having already paſſed the Alps. Otho followed with a ſelect body of the prætorian guards, and all the veterans of that corps, with the city cohorts, and a prodigious number draughted from the marines. On the march he betrayed no ſymptom of ſloth *(c)*, no paſſion for luxury: he advanced on foot, at the head of the colours, covered with an iron breaſt-

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plate, rough and ſoldier-like, exhibiting a ſtriking contraſt to his former character.

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XII. In this poſture of affairs, fortune ſeemed to open a flattering proſpect. Otho was maſter of the greateſt part of Italy, and his fleets had the command of the ſea. To the foot of the maritime Alps *(a)* the country was in his poſſeſſion. To paſs over thoſe mountains, and make a deſcent on Narbon Gaul, was the meaſure which he had projected. To conduct that expedition he appointed Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacencis. The laſt was loaded with irons by his own ſoldiers. Antonius Novellus loſt all authority; and Suedius Clemens, proud of his rank, but not knowing how to maintain it, yielded too much to the humours of the men. He preſerved no diſcipline, and yet was eager for action. His army preſented no appearance of men marching through their own country. They forgot that Italy was their native ſoil, and that the lands and houſes belonged to their fellow citizens. Regardleſs of the Roman name, they laid waſte the country with fire and ſword; they pillaged, deſtroyed, and plundered, as if the war had been in a foreign realm, againſt the enemies of their country. The wretched inhabitants were oppreſſed by men, againſt whom, having entertained no fear, they had prepared no defence. The fields were covered with grain and cattle; the houſes were open; and the owners, with their wives and children, went forth, in the ſimplicity of their hearts, to meet the army. In the midſt of peace, they were ſurrounded with all the horrors of war. Marius Maturus was, at that time, governor of the maritime Alps. He reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with Otho's troops, and, for that purpoſe, armed the youth of the country. In the firſt encounter, the mountaineers were either cut to pieces, or put to the rout. A

band of ruſtics, ſuddenly levied, and ignorant of military diſcipline, could not make head againſt a regular army. Expecting no fame from victory, they feared no diſgrace from an ignominious flight. BOOK II. A. U. C. 822. A. D. 69

XIII. An oppoſition, ſo raſh and feeble, ſerved only to exaſperate the Othonian ſoldiers. They fell with fury upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal town. The late victory was a fruitleſs advantage, affording neither ſpoil nor plunder. The peaſants had no property, and their arms were of no value. Even priſoners of war could not be made. The fugitives knew the courſe of the country, and were too ſwift of foot. Enraged at the diſappointment, the ſoldiers wreaked their vengeance on the innocent inhabitants of Intemelium, and glutted their avarice with the effects of innocent men. Amidſt the barbarities committed on this occaſion, a Ligurian woman gave a noble example of courage and maternal affection. She had concealed her child from the fury of the ſlaughtering ſword. The ſoldiers, fully perſuaded that ſhe had depoſited her treaſure in the ſame place, ſtretched her on the rack, and preſſed the unhappy mother to tell where ſhe had ſecured her ſon. She laid her hand on her womb, and "here," ſhe ſaid, "here my child is ſheltered." From that moment, unmoved by menaces, and unſubdued by torture, ſhe never changed her tone. Nothing could conquer that generous obſtinacy. She died a bright example of undaunted virtue.

XIV. Meanwhile, Fabius Valens received intelligence, that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coaſt of Narbon Gaul, with intent to invade that province, which had already embraced the intereſt of Vitellius. The adjacent colonies, by their deputies, ſued for protection. Valens diſpatched two Tungrian cohorts, four ſquadrons of horſe, with the whole cavalry of the Treviri,

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under the command of Julius Claſſicus; reſerving, however, a ſufficient detachment from thoſe forces, to garriſon the port of Forojulium, that the colony might not, while the troops marched up the country, lie expoſed to ſudden incurſions from the fleet. This arrangement being made, Claſſicus marched in queſt of the enemy, at the head of twelve troops of horſe, and a ſelect body from the cohorts. To theſe were added the Ligurian cohort, which had been uſually quartered at Forojulium, and five hundred men from Pannonia, not yet ranged in companies under diſtinct and regular colours. Neither ſide declined an engagement. The diſpoſition made by Otho's officers was as follows: A body of marines, intermixed with the peaſantry, took poſt on the heights near the ſea. The level ſpace between the hills and the coaſt was occupied by the prætorian ſoldiers; and, to ſupport them, the fleet ſtood in cloſe to the ſhore, drawn up in order of battle, and preſenting a formidable line. The ſtrength of the Vitellians, conſiſting in cavalry, was ſtationed in front; the infantry cloſe embodied in their rear, and their Alpine mountaineers on the ridge of the neighbouring hills. The Treverian ſquadrons began the attack with leſs ſkill than courage. The veterans of Otho's army received the attack in front, while their peaſants, from the high grounds, diſcharged a volley of ſtones, and, being expert ſlingers, annoyed the enemy in flank. They mixed in the lines with the regular ſoldiers, and performed feats of valour. In the moment of victory, there was no diſtinction between the coward and the brave; all purſued their advantage with equal ardour. The Vitellians were thrown into diſorder; and, being driven towards the margin of the ſea, they were there attacked in the rear by the ſoldiers belonging to the fleet. This was a danger unforeſeen. Hemmed in on every ſide, they muſt have been to a man cut off, if the night had not come on in time to favour

favour their retreat, and reſtrain the victorious army from purſuing them in their flight.

XV. The Vitellians, though defeated, ſtill retained their warlike ſpirit. With a reinforcement drawn together in haſte, they returned to the charge; and, finding the enemy elate with joy, and by ſucceſs lulled into ſecurity, they aſſaulted the outpoſts, put the advanced guard to the ſword, and forced their way into the camp. The Othonians were ſtruck with terror, and near the fleet all was tumult and diſorder. The ſurpriſe, however, ſoon began to ſubſide. The Othonians betook themſelves to an adjacent hill, and, having there collected their ſtrength, ruſhed down with impetuous fury. A dreadful ſlaughter followed. The Tungrian cohorts ſtood the brunt of the action, till their commanding officers fell under a ſhower of darts. The Othonians conquered, but their victory was dearly bought. They purſued the flying enemy with more rage than prudence, when the Treverian cavalry, wheeling round, attacked them in the rear, and put a large party to the ſword. From this time the two armies remained inactive. As if a truce had taken place, and both ſides had agreed by compact to ſuſpend hoſtilities, and no more moleſt each other by ſudden incurſions, the Vitellians retired to Antipolis, a municipal town of Narbon Gaul, and the Othonians to Albingaunum, in the inland part of Liguria.

XVI. Corsica, Sardinia, and the reſt of the iſlands in thoſe ſeas, were overawed by the victorious fleet, and kept in ſubjection to Otho. Corſica, indeed, ſuffered a ſudden convulſion from the temerity of the governor. The name of this officer was Decimus Pacarius. Though the iſland, in a war carried on by ſuch powerful adverſaries, was of no importance, he endeavoured to ſeduce the inhabitants to the intereſt of Vitellius.

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The project, which would have decided nothing, ended in his own ruin. He ſummoned a council of the leading men, and communicated his deſign. Claudius Phirricus, who commanded the galleys on that ſtation, and Quinctius Certus, a Roman knight, objected to the meaſure, and were put to inſtant death. The reſt of the aſſembly, terrified by this act of violence, ſwore fidelity to Vitellius. The populace, as uſual, blind and ignorant, but by contagion catching the fears of others, followed the example of the leading chiefs. Pacarius began to muſter his men, and train them to the uſe of arms. A race of rude and vulgar peaſants, who had no reliſh for the fatigue of military diſcipline, began to conſider the nature of their ſituation, and their inability to ſupport a war. "They were iſlanders, remote from Ger-"many, and out of the reach of the legions. The fleets of "Otho commanded the ſeas, and had lately ravaged the mari-"time countries, though defended by the cohorts and cavalry of "Vitellius." This reflection produced a ſudden change in every mind. They reſolved to aſſert their independance, not with open force, but by covert ſtratagem, and, for that purpoſe, to lie in wait for their opportunity. Pacarius, as ſoon as his train of viſitors left him, retired to his bath. In that moment the conſpirators fell upon him naked and diſarmed. He was put to inſtant death, and his attendants ſuffered the ſame fate. Their heads, like thoſe of traitors, were conveyed to Otho. And yet the aſſaſſins were neither rewarded by that prince, nor puniſhed by Vitellius. In the maſs of atrocious deeds that diſgraced the times, petty villanies were ſuffered to paſs with impunity.

XVII. THE cavalry, called the SYLANIAN SQUADRON, had, as already mentioned *(a)*, forced their way into Italy, and there fixed the ſeat of war. In the conduct of theſe men nothing proceeded from principle. They had no regard for Otho, nor ſo

ſo much as a wiſh to ſerve Vitellius; but, their vigour being relaxed by a long peace, and their minds debaſed and prepared for ſlavery, they ſtood ready to ſtretch their necks to the yoke, whatever hand impoſed it, in their choice of a maſter wholly indifferent. The faireſt portion of Italy *(b)*, extending from the Po to the Alps, with all its fertile plains and flouriſhing cities, was in the poſſeſſion of Vitellius; the forces ſent forward by Cæcina having already penetrated into that quarter. At Cremona a Pannonian cohort laid down their arms; and between Placentia and Ticinum a party of a hundred horſe, with a thouſand marines, were made priſoners. In this tide of ſucceſs nothing could withſtand the vigour of the Vitellians. The Po oppoſed its ſtream and its banks in vain. To the Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, the river was no more than a new motive to inflame their ardour. They paſſed over with their uſual rapidity under the walls of Placentia, and in ſight of the enemy. Having gained a footing on the land, they intercepted the enemy's ſcouts, and ſpread ſuch a general panic, that all who eſcaped their fury fled with precipitation, announcing the arrival of Cæcina and his whole army.

XVIII. SPURINNA, who commanded at Placentia, was well informed of Cæcina's motions. He knew him to be ſtill at a diſtance; and, if at any time he ſhould ſhew himſelf before the place, he had taken his meaſures. Three prætorian cohorts, and no more than a thouſand vexillaries, with a ſmall body of horſe, would be ill oppoſed to a veteran army. He reſolved, therefore, to remain within his fortifications. But an unruly ſoldiery, fierce and unſkilled in military operations, was not to be reſtrained. They ſeized the colours, and ſallied forth in a body. The general endeavoured in vain to check their violence; the men pointed their weapons at his breaſt; they ſpurned at the

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the tribunes and centurions, who extolled the wiſdom of their ſuperior officer; they rejected all advice, declaring aloud that treaſon was at work; they were betrayed: and Cæcina was invited to take poſſeſſion of the place. Spurinna was obliged to yield to this ſudden phrenſy, and even to proceed on the march. He went forth againſt his will, but with a ſhew of approbation, in hopes, if the ſedition died away, that he might then reſume his former authority.

XIX. The ſoldiers puſhed on with ſpirit, till the Po appearing in ſight, and night coming on, they halted for the firſt time. It was now judged neceſſary to fortify a camp. Labour and caſtrametation were new to men who had only ſerved within the walls of Rome. Their ferocity abated, and they began to ſee their error. The veterans in the ſervice condemned their own credulity, and pointed out to their comrades the common danger of all, if Cæcina, with a numerous army, had come up in time to ſurround them in a wide champaign country. Throughout the ranks nothing was heard but penitence and ſubmiſſion. The tribunes and centurions regained their influence, and all were loud in praiſe of their general, who had, with judgment, choſen a ſtrong and powerful colony for the ſeat of war. Spurinna ſeized his opportunity, chooſing rather to convince by reaſon, than to irritate by reproof. Having quelled the ſedition, he left ſome flying parties to watch the motions of the enemy, and, with an army now diſpoſed to obey his orders, marched back to Placentia. The fortifications of the place were repaired; new works were added; towers were conſtructed; the ſoldiers were provided with arms; and, what was of greater moment, a ſpirit of diſcipline and prompt obedience was diffuſed through the army. This was, no doubt, an eſſential ſervice. Want of courage could not be imputed to Otho's party. Inattention

to

to their ſuperior officers was the diſadvantage under which they laboured.

XX. Cæcina advanced into Italy with a well conducted army, obſerving in his march the ſtricteſt diſcipline, as if on the other ſide of the Alps he had left his cruelty and love of plunder. His dreſs gave offence to the colonies through which he paſſed. His mantle, decorated with various colours, paſſed for a mark of arrogance; and his drawers *(a)*, uſed only by ſavage nations, did not agree with the ideas of a Roman citizen. Beſides this, the ſplendid appearance of his wife, Salonina, mounted on a ſuperb horſe, adorned with purple ornaments, though in itſelf a matter of no importance, and certainly injurious to no perſon whatever, was held to be a public inſult. Such is the nature of the human mind, diſpoſed at all times to behold with jealouſy the ſudden elevation of new men, and to demand, that he, who has been known in an humble ſtation, ſhould know how to riſe in the world with temper and modeſt dignity. Cæcina paſſed the Po, and by negociation and artful promiſes endeavoured to ſeduce the leaders of Otho's party. The like inſidious game was played againſt himſelf. Both ſides talked of peace and concord, but they amuſed each other with words of ſpecious ſound, importing nothing. Tired of fruitleſs artifices, Cæcina began to concert his meaſures for the reduction of Placentia. He determined to inveſt the place; and knowing how much the fame of the general, and, by conſequence, the events of war, depend on the firſt exploit, he made every preparation to carry on the ſiege with vigour.

XXI. The firſt approach to the town diſplayed the bravery, but nothing of the ſkill, which might be expected from a veteran army. The ſoldiers, intoxicated with liquor, ad-

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vanced to the foot of the walls, without ſhelter, or due precaution. In this attack, a magnificent amphitheatre, which ſtood on the outſide of the fortifications, was ſet on fire, and levelled to the ground. Whether this was occaſioned by the flaming brands and other combuſtibles thrown in by the beſiegers, or by the like miſſive weapons diſcharged from the works, cannot now be aſcertained. The vulgar herd of the city, apt and willing, like the populace in every quarter, to believe whatever malignity can invent, imputed the diſaſter to the neighbouring coloniſts, who ſaw with envy a ſpacious and magnificent ſtructure, that ſurpaſſed every monument of art and labour throughout Italy. The ſenſe of this misfortune, however begun, was loſt in the preſſure of immediate danger; but the enemy was no ſooner withdrawn from the walls, than the inhabitants, in the moment of ſecurity, lamented the loſs of their amphitheatre, as the worſt calamity that could befall them. Cæcina was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The night, on both ſides, was employed in neceſſary preparations. The Vitellians provided themſelves with moving penthouſes, and other warlike machines, under which the men might advance to ſap the foundation of the walls. The beſieged were buſy in preparing ſtakes and rafts of timber, with huge heaps of ſtone and lead and braſs, in order to cruſh the aſſailants under their own works. Both armies felt every motive that could rouſe their valour. The love of glory, and the fear of ſhame, throbbed in every breaſt. In the camp of the Vitellians, nothing was heard but the vigour of the legions, and the fame of the German armies; within the town, the honour of the city cohorts, and the dignity of the prætorian bands, were the topics that inflamed their minds with heroic ardour. They conſidered the Vitellians as a ſet of deſperate adventurers, and deſpiſed them as Barbarians, foreigners, and aliens in Italy; while, in their turn, they were held in contempt by the beſiegers, as a weak enervate band,

band, who had loſt every warlike principle in the circus and the theatres of Rome. Otho and Vitellius were the ſubject of alternate praiſe and calumny; but praiſe was ſoon exhauſted, and for abuſe each party found abundant materials.

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XXII. At the return of day, the city and the country round diſplayed a ſcene of warlike preparation: the walls and ramparts were covered with Othonian ſoldiers, and the fields glittered with the blaze of hoſtile arms. The legions in cloſe array advanced to the aſſault, and the auxiliaries in ſeparate diviſions. The attack began with a volley of ſtones and darts aimed at the higheſt part of the fortifications; and where the works were either impaired by time, or thinly manned, the Vitellians attempted a ſcalade. The German auxiliaries, rending the air with their ſavage war-ſongs, and, according to the cuſtom of their country, waving their ſhields over their ſhoulders, advanced with impetuous fury; while the garriſon, with deliberate aim, diſcharged a volley of ſtones and darts. In the mean time, the legionary ſoldiers, under their covered way, battered the foundation of the walls, and, having thrown up mounds of earth, attempted to force the gates. A pile of maſſy ſtones, which had been prepared by the beſieged, was inſtantly rolled down with prodigious ruin: the Vitellians, cruſhed under the weight, or transfixed with darts, lay wounded, maimed, and mangled, at the foot of the ramparts. Horror and confuſion followed. The Othonians were inſpired with freſh courage. The ſlaughter increaſed; and the aſſailants, finding all their efforts defeated, with great precipitation, and no leſs diſhonour, ſounded a retreat. Cæcina ſaw the folly of an enterpriſe raſhly undertaken. To avoid further diſgrace, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, and leave a camp, where he had nothing to expect but reproach and ſhame. He repaſſed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona. He had not proceeded far, when he was joined by Turullius Cerealis,

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a centurion of principal rank, who had ſerved under him in Germany, and alſo by Julius Briganticus, a Batavian by birth: the former deſerted with a ſtrong body of marine ſoldiers, and the latter, with a ſmall party of horſe.

XXIII. SPURINNA, as ſoon as he was informed of the movements of the enemy, ſent diſpatches to Annius Gallus, with the particulars of the ſiege, the gallant defence of Placentia, and the meaſures concerted by Cæcina. Gallus was then on his march, at the head of the firſt legion, to the relief of the place, little imagining that a few cohorts would be able to hold out againſt the ſtrength and valour of the German army. It was, however, no ſooner known that Cæcina had abandoned his enterpriſe, and was then proceeding to Cremona, than the ſpirit of the legion blazed out at once. They deſired to be led againſt the enemy. Their impatience roſe to a pitch little ſhort of ſedition. It was with difficulty that Gallus appeaſed the tumult. He made halt at Bedriacum *(a)*, a village ſituated between Verona and Cremona, and unhappily famous for the ſlaughter of two Roman armies. About the ſame time the Othonians gained a ſecond advantage over the enemy. Martius Macer fought with ſucceſs near Cremona. That officer, with the ſpirit of enterpriſe that diſtinguiſhed him, embarked the gladiators on the Po, and, making a ſudden deſcent on the oppoſite bank, fell with fury on the auxiliaries of Vitellius. All who attempted to make head againſt him were put to the ſword; the reſt fled with precipitation to Cremona. Macer was not willing to loſe by raſhneſs the fruit of his victory. He knew that, by the arrival of freſh forces, the fortune of the day might be changed, and, for that reaſon, recalled his men from the purſuit. This meaſure ſpread a general diſcontent amongſt the ſoldiers. It was the misfortune of Otho's party to be on all occaſions infected with ſuſpicion, and,

and, with a ſtrange perverſity, to put the worſt conſtruction on the conduct of their officers. The baſe of heart and petulant of tongue combined together, and with virulent invective defamed and blackened every character without diſtinction. Even Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celſus, three eminent generals, did not eſcape the ſhafts of calumny. They were charged with various crimes. But the murderers of Galba were the worſt incendiaries. Conſcious of their guilt, and finding no reſpite from remorſe and fear, theſe miſcreants made it their buſineſs to embroil, to diſtract, and throw every thing into confuſion. They gave vent to their ſeditious deſigns with open inſolence, and by clandeſtine letters infuſed their venom into the mind of Otho; a mind too ſuſceptible, always hearkening to every malignant whiſper, and only guarded againſt men of worth and honour: in proſperity weak and irreſolute; in diſtreſs collected, firm, determined; misfortune made him a better man. In his preſent ſituation, eaſily alarmed, and ſuſpecting all his officers, he ſent to Rome for his brother Titianus, and committed to him the whole conduct of the war. The interval was filled by Celſus and Paulinus with active enterpriſe and brilliant ſucceſs.

XXIV. CÆCINA felt the diſgrace of his late defeat, and ſaw with anxiety the fame of his army mouldering away. He had been roughly handled at Placentia, his auxiliaries were cut to pieces, and in every ſkirmiſh, not worthy of a particular detail, the enemy had the advantage. He likewiſe knew by ſure intelligence that Valens was advancing with his army, and that commander might reap the laurels of the war. To prevent a circumſtance ſo humiliating, he reſolved, with more courage than judgment, to redeem his glory. With this intent he marched to a village called Caſtorum *(a)*, diſtant about twelve miles from Cremona. At that place, in a wood that overhangs the

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the road, he ſtationed the flower of his auxiliaries in ambuſcade. His cavalry had orders to take an advanced poſt, and, after provoking an engagement, to give ground at once, and draw the enemy forward, till an unexpected ſally could be made from the woods. The ſtratagem was betrayed to the generals of Otho's army. Paulinus took the command of the infantry, while Celſus led on the cavalry. Their men were ranged in order of battle. In the left wing were placed the vexillaries of the thirteenth legion, four auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horſe. The high road was occupied by three prætorian cohorts, who formed the centre. The left wing conſiſted of the firſt legion, two auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horſe. Beſides theſe, a thouſand of the cavalry, ſelected from the prætorian and auxiliary bands, were kept as a body of reſerve to ſupport the broken ranks, or, if the enemy gave way, to ruſh on at once and complete the victory.

XXV. BEFORE the two armies came to action, the Vitellians feigned a flight. Aware of the ſtratagem, Celſus checked the ardour of his men, and in his turn pretended to give ground. The adverſe party, as they lay in ambuſh, thought they ſaw their opportunity, and, ruſhing forward inconſiderately, fell into a ſnare. The legions flanked them from both wings; the cohorts attacked in front; and the cavalry, wheeling round with rapidity, charged in the rear. Suetonius Paulinus ſtill kept his infantry out of the engagement. By his natural temper ſlow and deliberate, he choſe to take his meaſures with precaution, rather than hazard a ſudden conflict, and owe his ſucceſs to the chance of war. He ordered the hollows to be filled up, the ground to be cleared, and his ranks to be extended; wiſely judging that it would then be time to think of victory, when he had taken care not to be conquered. During this delay the Vitellians ſeized

the opportunity to ſhift their ground. They betook themſelves to the adjacent vineyards, thick with interwoven branches, and, by conſequence, difficult of acceſs. Having there, and in a wood that lay contiguous, found a ſafe retreat, they recovered their courage, and ſallied out to attack the prætorian cavalry. The beſt and braveſt officers of that corps were cut to pieces. Epiphanes *(a)*, the eaſtern king, who in ſupport of Otho's cauſe faced every danger, was wounded in the engagement.

XXVI. At length the infantry, under the command of Paulinus, entered into the action. The front line of the enemy gave way at once, and the parties that came to ſupport them were in like manner put to the rout. Cæcina had not the judgment to act with his whole ſtrength at once. He brought up his men in detachments; and the conſequence was, that, coming forward in ſucceſſion, and no where ſtrong enough, they ſoon gave way, and fled with the ranks already broken. During this confuſion, a violent tumult broke out in Cæcina's camp. The ſoldiers were enraged that the whole army was not drawn out. They ſeized Julius Gratus, the præfect of the camp, and loaded him with irons, on a ſuſpicion that he held ſecret intelligence with his brother Julius Fronto, at that time a tribune in Otho's army, and, under a ſimilar accuſation, then confined in priſon by the adverſe party. Nothing now could equal the diſorder and conſternation that covered the whole Vitellian army. In the camp, in the field of battle, in the flight, and amongſt the parties that came to ſupport the fugitives, the confuſion was ſuch, that, if Paulinus had not founded a retreat, it was the general opinion that Cæcina, with his whole army, might have been cut to pieces. In defence of his conduct, Paulinus anſwered, that, ſeeing how much toil and labour ſtill remained, he was not willing to expoſe his men, already ſpent with the fatigue of the day,

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day, to freſh forces kept in reſerve, and ready to iſſue from the adverſe camp. An exhauſted ſoldiery might, in that caſe, be overpowered; and, if once broken, no poſt, no ſtation remained behind. With this reaſoning the judicious few were ſatisfied, but in the lower ranks of the army diſcontent and murmuring ſtill prevailed.

XXVII. The loſs ſuſtained in this engagement had no other effect on the vanquiſhed Vitellians, than to reduce their turbulent ſpirit to a ſenſe of military duty. Cæcina threw the whole blame of his defeat upon the ungovernable temper of the army, at all times more diſpoſed to mutiny than to face the enemy. The men now ſaw their error, and began to ſubmit to authority. Nor was this the caſe with regard to Cæcina only: the ſame reformation ſhewed itſelf in the camp of Fabius Valens, who was now advanced as far as Ticinum *(a)*. The ſoldiers under his command were taught, by the late event, no longer to deſpiſe the enemy. To retrieve the honour of the army, they now were willing to behave with due ſubmiſſion to their general. They had been, not long before, guilty of a bold and dangerous tumult, of which, at the exact point of time, no notice could be taken, without breaking the thread of the narrative, and departing too much from the tranſactions under Cæcina.

It may now be proper to give an account of that inſurrection. The reader will remember, that, in the war between Nero and Vindex, the cohorts of the Batavian nation ſeparated from the fourteenth legion, then on its way to Britain; and having heard, in the city of the Lingones, of commotions in favour of Vitellius, went over to the ſtandard of Fabius Valens. Their arrogance, from that time, knew no bounds. They paraded the camp, in every quarter, and in the tents of the legions, making it their boaſt,

boaſt, "that by them the fourteenth legion had been overawed; "by them Italy was wreſted out of the hands of Nero; and "upon their ſwords the iſſue of the war depended." The Roman ſoldiers heard theſe ſpeeches with indignation; diſputes and quarrels filled the camp, and diſcipline was at an end. Valens ſaw his authority leſſened, and knew too well, that, from clamour to actual mutiny the tranſition is ſhort and ſudden.

XXVIII. In this poſture of affairs, Valens received advice that the Tungrians and Treverians had met with a defeat, and that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coaſt of Narbon Gaul. He took that opportunity to order a detachment of the Batavians to march to the relief of the province; intending, at the ſame time, by a ſtroke of policy, to divide the mutinous troops, whom, in their collective body, he found impatient of controul. This meaſure gave umbrage to the reſt of his army. The auxiliaries murmured, and the legions complained aloud, "that they were now to "loſe the braveſt troops in the ſervice. The enemy was near at "hand, and was that a time to withdraw a body of gallant ſol-"diers, who had ſo often fought with undaunted courage, and "ſo often returned crowned with victory? If a ſingle province "is of more moment than the city of Rome, and the empire is but "a ſecondary conſideration, why not march with the united "ſtrength of the whole army? On the other hand, if Italy muſt "be the theatre of war; if there, and there only, a deciſive victory "can be obtained; why ſeparate from the army thoſe gallant vete-"rans, like the ſoundeſt limbs cut off from the body?"

XXIX. To allay this ferment, Valens went forth, preceded by his lictors. The men paid no regard to their general; they pelted him with ſtones; they forced him to fly before them; they purſued with opprobrious language, accuſing him of having em-

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bezzled, to his own private uſe, the ſpoils of Gaul, the gold of Vienne *(a)*, and the recompenſe due to the ſoldiers, for all their toil and labour. They ruſhed to his pavilion, pillaged his camp-equipage, and, in hopes of finding hidden treaſure, pierced the ground with their ſpears and javelins. Valens, in the mean time, diſguiſed like a ſlave, lay concealed in the tent of an officer of the cavalry. Alphenus Varus, the præfect of the camp, ſaw the phrenſy ſubſiding, and, in the ebb of their paſſions, thought it beſt to let repentance take poſſeſſion of them by degrees. With that intent, he gave orders to the centurions neither to viſit the night watch, nor ſuffer the uſual ſignals to be given by ſound of trumpet. A dead ſilence followed. The mutineers ſtood covered with aſtoniſhment, wondering that no one aſſumed the command; they gazed at each other, and trembled at being left to themſelves. By ſilence and reſignation they hoped to give a proof of returning virtue. In the end they burſt into tears, and with humble ſupplications implored forgiveneſs. Valens ventured to appear. As ſoon as the ſoldiers ſaw him, beyond expectation ſafe, unhurt, in a ſordid dreſs, with tears ſtarting from his eye, a mingled tumult of joy and ſorrow and affection ſwelled in every breaſt. With the quick tranſition of paſſions common with the multitude, they poured forth their congratulations; and with ſhouts of applauſe placed their general amidſt the eagles and ſtandards, on his tribunal. Valens acted with well-timed moderation. No man was ſingled out for puniſhment. Afraid, however, that, by too much coolneſs, he might make them ſuſpect ſome deep deſign, he thought fit to reprimand a few by name, and his reſentment went no further. In the diſtractions of a civil war, he knew that the power of the general is never equal to the liberty claimed by his ſoldiers *(b)*.

XXX. While Valens employed his army in throwing up

entrenchments at Ticinum, an account of Cæcina's defeat reached the camp. The flame of ſedition was ready to break out a ſecond time. All agreed, that by the treachery of Valens they were detained from the field of battle. They reſolved to linger no longer; they ſcorned to wait the motions of an inactive commander; they marched before the colours, and, ordering the ſtandard-bearers to puſh on with alacrity, never halted, till, by a rapid march, they joined Cæcina's army. In that camp Valens was in no kind of credit. The vanquiſhed ſoldiers complained, that, with an inferior force, they were left expoſed to the enemy; and, by extolling the ſtrength and valour of their new friends, they hoped to conciliate eſteem, and throw from themſelves the imputation of cowardice. Valens was at the head of an army, which exceeded that of Cæcina by almoſt double the number, and yet the latter was the favourite of the men. His liberal ſpirit gained him friends, and his generoſity was praiſed by all. To the vigour of youth he united a graceful figure, and he poſſeſſed thoſe nameleſs qualities *(a)*, which, though of no ſolid value, conciliate favour, men know not why. Hence a ſpirit of emulation between the two commanders. Cæcina objected to his rival the ſordid vices that diſgraced his character; and, in return, Valens laughed at a man elate with pride and vain oſtentation. And yet the two chiefs acted towards each other with diſguiſed hoſtility. In their zeal for the common cauſe, their mutual animoſities were ſuppreſſed, though not extinguiſhed. In their letters, they treated Otho, and his licentious practices, in a ſtyle that ſhewed they ſcorned all terms of future reconciliation. The conduct of the officers in the oppoſite army was very different. They ſpoke of Vitellius with reſerve; and, though his manners afforded ample materials for invective, they choſe to contain themſelves within the bounds of prudence.

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XXXI. It may be here obſerved, that, whatever were the ſhades of vice in the oppoſite characters of the contending chiefs, death, in the end, made the true diſtinction between them: Otho fell with glory, and Vitellius with diſgrace and infamy. During their lives, men dreaded greater miſchief from the unbridled paſſions of Otho, than from the ſluggiſh debauchery of Vitellius. The murder of Galba made the former an object of deteſtation; while the latter was never charged with being the author of the war *(a)*. Vitellius, by his gluttony and ſenſual appetites, was his own enemy; Otho, by his profuſion, his cruelty, and his daring ſpirit, was the enemy of his country. As ſoon as the forces under Cæcina and Valens had formed a junction, the Vitellian party wiſhed for nothing ſo much as a deciſive action. Otho was not determined, which was moſt for his intereſt, a ſpeedy engagement or a lingering war. In this ſtate of irreſolution, he called a council, when Suetonius Paulinus, an officer ſurpaſſed by no man of that age, judged it conſiſtent with his high military character, to weigh all circumſtances, and upon the whole to give a decided opinion. He contended, that to bring the diſpute to an immediate iſſue, was the buſineſs of Vitellius; and, on the contrary, to draw the war into length, was the game that Otho ought to play. He argued as follows:

XXXII. "The whole collected force of Vitellius is now in "Italy: the reſources, which he has left behind him, are incon- "ſiderable. From Gaul he has nothing to expect. The ſpirit "of that fierce and turbulent people is ſtill in agitation; and "while Germany, with hoſtile numbers, is ever ready to invade "the Roman provinces, the banks of the Rhine cannot be left "naked and defenceleſs. The legions in Britain have the natives "on their hands, and they are divided by the ſea. Spain cannot "boaſt

" boaſt of reſources. The province of Narbon Gaul has been " haraſſed by Otho's fleet, and is ſtill covered with conſternation. " The part of Italy which lies beyond the Po is ſhut in by the " Alps, deprived of all relief by ſea, and the armies that paſſed " that way have made the whole country a ſcene of deſolation. " There is no place from which Vitellius can hope to be ſupplied " with grain; and he who wants proviſions, in a ſhort time " will want an army. The Germans, a brave and warlike " people, conſtitute the ſtrength and bulwark of the Vitellian " party: protract the war, and will they be able to go through " a ſummer campaign? The change of ſoil, and the heat of the " climate, will relax their vigour. The war, that by ſtrenuous " efforts may be puſhed to a proſperous iſſue, grows languid " when drawn into length, and in a ſtate of tedious ſuſpenſe " whole armies have mouldered away.

" On the other hand, Otho's party is in no want of ſupplies; " their friends are firm, and great reſources are ſtill in reſerve. " Pannonia, Mæſia, Dalmatia, and the eaſtern provinces, are able " to ſend numerous armies into the field. All Italy declares for " Otho: Rome, the capital of the empire, is ſtill in his poſſeſſion; " and, above all, he has on his ſide the ſenate and the Roman people; " illuſtrious names, and always of the firſt importance, though " their glory in ſome conjunctures has been eclipſed. There " is ſtill in reſerve a ſtore of wealth, both public and private; " and riches at all times are the ſinews of war, in public diſſenſions " more powerful than the ſword. The ſoldiers in the ſervice of " Otho are in good condition, enured to Italy, or ſeaſoned to the " heat in warmer climates. In their front the river Po is a bar- " rier, and there are fortified cities, ſtrongly garriſoned, all deter- " mined to hold out to the laſt. Of this the gallant defence of " Placentia is a ſufficient proof. For theſe reaſons, a ſlow and

" lingering

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"lingering war is the beſt expedient. Paſs but a few days, and "the fourteenth legion, famous for its bravery, will arrive with "a ſtrong reinforcement of auxiliaries from Mæſia. A council "of war may then be called; and, ſhould it be thought adviſable "to hazard a battle, Otho, in that event, may take the field with "a ſuperior army."

XXXIII. MARIUS CELSUS concurred in this opinion. Annius Gallus was not preſent. He had been hurt by a fall from his horſe a few days before, and was not yet recovered: but being conſulted by perſons ſent for the purpoſe, he acceded to the counſels of Paulinus. Otho was for trying the iſſue of a battle. His brother Titianus, and Proculus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, though neither of them had any military experience, did what in them lay to incite a temper of itſelf raſh and precipitate. The gods, they ſaid, and the tutelar genius of Otho, were preſent in council, and would not fail to guide and animate the battle. Such was the language of flattery. They made their poiſon palatable, and no man preſumed to adminiſter an antidote.

To offer battle, was the reſult of the debate; but whether the emperor ſhould command in perſon, or withdraw to a place of ſafety, was a queſtion ſtill to be diſcuſſed. Celſus and Paulinus gave no opinion. To expoſe the prince to the dangers of the field, was more than they choſe to hazard. That point was left to the authors of the pernicious counſel already given. By their advice Otho retired to Brixellum, there to reſerve himſelf for the good of the people and the majeſty of empire. From this day the ruin of Otho may be dated. He took with him a conſiderable detachment of the prætorian cohorts, the body-guard, and a ſtrong party of horſe. After their departure, the ſpirit of the army began to droop. They ſuſpected their officers. The prince,

to

to whom the ſoldiers were faithfully attached, and who, in return, confided in them, and them only, abandoned his cauſe, without leaving a head to direct, or a general, to whoſe authority the men were willing to ſubmit.

XXXIV. During theſe tranſactions, nothing of all that paſſed was a ſecret in the camp of Vitellius. From the deſerters, who in civil wars are always numerous, and alſo from the ſpies, whoſe genius it is, while they pry into the ſecrets of others, to betray their own, every thing tranſpired. Cæcina and Valens lay in wait for the motions of an enemy, whom they ſaw contriving their own deſtruction. To plan an enterpriſe was unneceſſary, where the beſt wiſdom was to ſucceed by the folly of others. In order, however, to give jealouſy to the gladiators *(a)* on the oppoſite bank of the Po, and, at the ſame time, to keep their own ſoldiers employed, they began to throw a bridge over the river. As a foundation for the work, they ranged in proper order a number of boats, made faſt at equal diſtances by ſtrong timbers, with their prows turned againſt the current, and by their anchors ſecured from driving from the ſpot. The cables were of a length to play in the water, in order, when the ſtream increaſed, that the veſſels might be gently lifted up and down without danger or confuſion. In the boat at the further extremity of the bridge, they cauſed a tower to be erected, which ſerved at once to cloſe the paſſage, and give the men a ſtation, where they might, with their battering engines, prevent the approach of the enemy.

XXXV. The Othonians alſo raiſed a tower on the oppoſite bank, and thence were able to annoy the enemy with maſſy ſtones and flaming brands. A ſmall iſland ſtood in the middle of the river. The gladiators attempted to paſs over in boats; but the

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the Germans, expert in ſwimming, daſhed into the ſtream, and took poſſeſſion of the place. In order to diſlodge them, Macer put off with a ſtrong party of gladiators on board his galleys; but the gladiators were not able to cope with regular ſoldiers; and the motion of the veſſels not allowing them a firm footing, they fought at a diſadvantage with men, who from the land were able to diſcharge their miſſive weapons with ſurer aim and more certain effect. On board the veſſels all was hurry and confuſion. The rowers and combatants obſtructed each other. The Germans plunged into the river, and, ſeizing hold of the boats, boarded ſeveral, and ſunk others to the bottom. The whole paſſed under the eye of both armies. The Vitellians looked on with joy, while the adverſe party, ſtung with indignation, railed at Macer, whom they called the author of their diſgrace.

XXXVI. The gladiators, in ſuch veſſels as they could ſave, retreated from the iſland, and by their flight put an end to the engagement. Macer was devoted to deſtruction. The ſoldiers clamoured for his blood. One of them darted his lance, and actually wounded him, while the reſt ruſhed on ſword in hand, and would have killed him on the ſpot, if the tribunes and centurions had not interpoſed to ſave him from their fury. In a ſhort time after, Veſtricius Spurinna, having, by order of Otho, left a moderate garriſon at Placentia, came up to the main body with the cohorts under his command. Macer was ſuperſeded, and in his place Flavius Sabinus, conſul elect, was appointed; to the great joy of the common men, who ſaw with pleaſure every change of their officers. The commanders, in their turn, ſaw the unruly ſpirit of the army, and, with reluctance, accepted a ſervice ſo often diſturbed by tumult and ſedition.

XXXVII. I find it aſſerted as a fact, and by authors of

credit, that the two armies, dreading the calamities of war, and at the ſame time deteſting the two rival princes, whoſe flagitious deeds grew every day more notorious, were diſpoſed to lay down their arms, and either to name a perſon worthy of the ſucceſſion, or to refer that matter to the choice of the ſenate. This, we are told, was the conſideration that weighed with Otho's generals, when they propoſed to draw the war into length, and, in particular, that Paulinus acted with that motive. He was the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of the conſular rank, the higheſt in military reputation, and his conduct in Britain *(a)* had given ſuperior luſtre to his name. But though it may be reaſonable to admit, that a few, in that juncture, had the public good at heart, and wiſhed to ſee two vile competitors, the moſt abandoned of mankind, poſtponed to a virtuous prince; it is, notwithſtanding, highly improbable that Paulinus, a man of experience and conſummate underſtanding, ſhould, in an age ſo corrupt and profligate, amuſe himſelf with hopes of finding one ſpark of virtue. He knew the madneſs of the times; and could he expect, that the ſame infatuated multitude, whoſe wickedneſs had kindled the flame of war, would on a ſudden prefer the bleſſings of peace, and conſent, for the repoſe of the world, to ſheath the deſtructive ſword? Can it be imagined, that the armies then in the field, diſſonant in language, and in their manners ſtill more diſcordant, could ever be brought to coaleſce in one opinion? Above all, can it be ſuppoſed that the leading chiefs, a ſet of men immerſed in luxury, overwhelmed with debts, and conſcious of their crimes, would ſubmit to any maſter who was not, like themſelves, plunged in vice, and by gratitude for his elevation obliged to be the patron of the moſt pernicious citizens?

XXXVIII. The love of power and domination ſeems to be an inſtinct of the human heart *(a)*, implanted by the hand of

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nature. Coeval with the foundation of Rome, it grew with the growth of the empire, and, in the hour of pride and grandeur, broke out with reſiſtleſs violence. Before that period, while the republic was in its infancy, the equality of conditions was eaſily preſerved. In proceſs of time, when the pride of foreign kings was humbled, and rival nations ſubmitted to the Roman arms, avarice began to accumulate riches, and contentions aroſe between the ſenate and the people. Factious tribunes prevailed at one time, and ambitious conſuls at another. In the heart of the city, and even in the forum, the ſword of diſcord was drawn, and thoſe diſſenſions were a prelude to the rage of civil war. Caius Marius, a man ſprung from the dregs of the populace, and Lucius Sylla, fierce and cruel beyond the reſt of the nobility, overturned the conſtitution of their country, and on the ruins of public liberty eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of tyranny and lawleſs power. Pompey came ſoon after, with paſſions more diſguiſed, but no way better. From that time, the ſtruggle has been for ſupreme dominion. The legions that filled the plains of Pharſalia, and afterwards met at Philippi, though compoſed of Roman citizens, never once thought of laying down their arms. And are we to believe that the armies of Otho and Vitellius were of a more pacific temper? They had inſtigations equally powerful; the ſame wrath of the gods purſued them; the ſame popular phrenſy kindled the flame of diſcord; and the ſame vices conſpired to urge them on to mutual ſlaughter. Their war, it is true, was ended by a ſingle battle; but for that ſpeedy iſſue the world was indebted, not to the virtue of the armies, but to the abject ſpirit of the contending princes. But theſe reflections on the ſpirit of ancient and modern times have betrayed me into a long digreſſion. I reſume the thread of my narrative.

XXXIX. From the time when Otho withdrew to Brixellum, his

his brother Titianus aſſumed all the pride and pomp of commander in chief, but the power and real authority remained in the hands of Proculus. Celſus and Paulinus were no more than mere nominal generals. No man ſought their advice. They were, in fact, ſuperſeded; ſerving no purpoſe but that of ſcreening the folly of others, and bearing the blame of blunders not their own. The tribunes and centurions could render no effectual ſervice, while ignorance and inſufficiency were preferred, and real talents lay neglected. The common men appeared with an air of alacrity, but more diſpoſed to cavil with their generals, than to execute their orders. A ſudden reſolution was taken to ſhift their ground, and encamp within four miles of Bedriacum *(a)*. They conducted their march, and choſe their ſtation, with ſuch want of ſkill, that, though it was then the ſpring of the year, and the country round abounded with rivers, the army was diſtreſſed for want of water. The expediency of hazarding a battle became again the ſubject of debate. Otho, by frequent diſpatches, inſiſted on the moſt vigorous meaſures: the ſoldiers called for their emperor, and with clamour demanded his preſence on the day of battle. Many were of opinion, that the forces beyond the Po ſhould be called in to reinforce the army. Hiſtory has not materials to decide what would have been the moſt prudent meaſure; but it is certain, that of all poſſible evils they choſe the worſt.

XL. They reſolved to march to the conflux of the Po *(a)* and the Addua, at the diſtance of ſixteen miles. In this movement the ſoldiers preſented no appearance of an army going to offer battle. They marched as if going to open a campaign, not to decide it. The meaſure was in direct oppoſition to the advice of Celſus and Paulinus. Thoſe officers repreſented the danger of expoſing the ſoldiers, fatigued by their march, and bending

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under the weight of their baggage, to the attack of an enemy unincumbered, and freſh from a march of four miles only. An army in that condition would ſeize their opportunity, and begin a general aſſault before Otho's men could form the line of battle; perhaps they were diſperſed in ſmall parties, or employed at the entrenchments. Titianus and Proculus were not to be convinced. When overcome by argument, they reſorted to their orders, and the will of the prince was a deciſive anſwer. About the ſame time a Numidian horſeman *(b)*, poſting at full ſpeed, arrived with letters from Otho, in a ſtyle of ſharp reproof condemning the tedious operations of the army, and, in a peremptory tone, commanding his generals to bring on a deciſive action. To a mind like his the interval of ſuſpenſe was dreadful. Delay kept him in reſtleſs anxiety, and hope and fear diſtracted him.

XLI. On the ſame day, while Cæcina was employed in throwing a bridge over the Po, two prætorian tribunes arrived to demand an interview. They were admitted to an audience, when a ſudden alarm from the ſcouts announced the enemy at hand. The buſineſs broke off abruptly, and the intention of the tribunes was left in the dark. What their deſign was, whether to betray their own party, to lay a ſnare for the Vitellians, or to make a fair and honourable propoſal, cannot now be known. Cæcina diſmiſſed the tribunes, and made the beſt of his way to the camp. He found that Valens had loſt no time: the ſignal for battle was already given, and the men were drawn out under arms. While the legions were eagerly employed in ſettling by lot the order in which they were to take their ſtations in the field, the cavalry advanced to charge the enemy, and, contrary to all expectation, were put to the rout by an inferior number. The Othonians purſued with vigour, and would have forced them to fly for ſhelter to their entrenchments, had not the Italic legion

oppoſed the runaways, and ſword in hand compelled them to return to the charge. Meanwhile, the reſt of the army, without hurry or confuſion, drew up in order of battle, unmoleſted by the enemy, and, in fact, without being ſeen: as a thick coppice, that ſtood between both parties, intercepted their view.

In Otho's army nothing was ſeen but tumult and diſtraction; the chiefs without courage, or authority; the men miſtruſting their officers; the ground not cleared of the baggage, and the followers of the camp mixing in the ranks. The road which they occupied was rendered ſo narrow, by a ditch on each ſide, that, even though no enemy were at hand, a march over the cauſey would have been performed with difficulty. Their whole army was in confuſion; ſome crowding about their colours; others at a loſs, and running to and fro to find their proper poſt; all in a confuſed clamour, roaring for their comrades, anſwering to their names, and confounding one another with noiſe and uproar. Some, ſtill ſhifting their ground, advanced to the front line; others fell into the rear; none remaining in one ſpot, but ſhifting their ground, as fear or courage happened to prompt them.

XLII. The Othonians had ſcarce recovered from their ſurpriſe, when a ſudden incident diffuſed a general joy; but a joy that tended to lull them into ſecurity, and relax their courage into languor and ſtupid amazement. A report was ſpread, that the forces of Vitellius had abandoned his cauſe: but from what quarter it took its origin; whether by deſign or chance *(a)*; from the emiſſaries of the Vitellians, or the adverſe party, has never been explained. The effect on the minds of the Othonians was altogether extraordinary. Laying aſide all thoughts of coming to action, they ſaluted the oppoſite army, who ſtood aſtoniſhed, and returned a deep and hollow murmur. Thoſe in Otho's ranks, who

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who did not know the cauſe of the civility ſhewn by their friends, thought themſelves betrayed. In that moment the Vitellians began the attack. Their army was in regular order, and their numbers were ſuperior. The Othonians, ſtill in diſorder, and fatigued by their march, received the firſt impreſſion with undaunted firmneſs. The place where the action grew warm being thick with trees and interwoven vine-branches, the combat varied according to the nature of the ground. They fought man to man; they engaged at a diſtance; they diſcharged their darts and miſſive weapons; they brought forward ſeparate battalions, or advanced in the form of a wedge. On the high road the engagement was cloſe and obſtinate. Darts and lances were of no uſe. They fought hand to hand, foot to foot, and buckler againſt buckler. With their ſwords and axes they cut through helmets and breaſtplates. They knew one another; each individual was conſpicuous to his friends and enemies; his exploits were ſeen by all; and every man fought, as if the iſſue of the war depended upon his ſingle arm.

XLIII. Upon an open plain of conſiderable extent, that lay between the Po and the high road, two legions met in fierce encounter; on the part of Vitellius, the one-and-twentieth, famed for its valour, and commonly known by the name of Rapax *(a)*; on the ſide of Otho, the firſt legion, intitled Adjutrix, which had never been in action, and now panted for an opportunity to fleſh their maiden ſwords. Their firſt attack was not to be reſiſted. They broke through the ranks of the one-and-twentieth, and carried off their eagle. Rouſed by this diſgrace, the Vitellians added rage to bravery, and bore down all before them. Orphidius Benignus, who commanded Otho's legion, fell in the conflict. His men were driven back with great ſlaughter, and the loſs of ſeveral ſtandards. In another part of the field, the thirteenth

teenth legion was routed by the fifth, and the fourteenth was hemmed in by ſuperior numbers. Otho's generals had long ſince fled the field, while Cæcina and Valens continued to exert themſelves, watching every turn of the battle, and ſupporting the ranks in every quarter. Freſh forces came to their aſſiſtance. The Batavians, under Varus Alphenus, having cut to pieces the gladiators attempting in boats to croſs the Po, came into the field, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and charged the enemy in flank.

XLIV. The centre of Otho's army gave way, and fled with precipitation towards Bedriacum. A long ſpace lay before them; the road was obſtructed with heaps of ſlain, and the enemy hung upon their rear. In civil wars no priſoners are reſerved for ſale: the ſlaughter, for that reaſon, was the more dreadful *(a)*. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus fled different ways, both reſolved not to return to the camp. Vedius Aquila, who commanded the thirteenth legion, by his own indiſcretion expoſed himſelf to the fury of the ſoldiers. He entered the camp, while it was yet broad day-light; and the very men, who were the firſt to turn their backs on the enemy, were now the foremoſt in ſedition. They crowded round their ſuperior officer with a torrent of abuſive language, and offered violence to his perſon. They charged him with treachery, and deſertion, in the true ſpirit of vulgar minds, transferring to others their own guilt and infamy. Titianus and Celſus owed their ſafety to the darkneſs of the night. They did not venture into the camp, till the ſentinels were ſtationed at their poſts, and the tumult was appeaſed by the intreaties, the advice, and authority of Annius Gallus, who had the addreſs to make the men ſenſible of the folly and madneſs of adding to the havoc of the field by their own deſtructive fury. Whether the war was at an end, or to be once more renewed with vigour, he repreſented, in either caſe, the neceſſity of union

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among themſelves. A face of ſorrow and dejection covered the camp. All were huſhed in ſilence; all but the prætorians, who ſtill grumbled diſcontent, aſſerting that they were defeated by treachery, not by the valour of the enemy. "The Vitellians, "they ſaid, could not boaſt of a cheap victory. Their cavalry "was routed, and one of their legions loſt their eagle. Otho "ſtill ſurvived, and the troops beyond the Po were ready to "advance; the legions from Mæſia were on their march; and a "conſiderable part of the army, detained at Bedriacum, had no "ſhare in the action. Theſe were ſtill in reſerve; they were not "conquered; and if a total overthrow was to be their lot, they "might fall with glory in the field of battle." With theſe and ſuch-like reflections the prætorians kept their minds in agitation, by turns inflamed with anger, or depreſſed with fear. They ſaw their ruined condition; deſpair ſucceeded, and from deſpair they derived courage and a ſpirit of revenge.

XLV. The victorious army halted at the diſtance of five miles from Bedriacum. The generals did not think it adviſable on the ſame day to attempt the enemy's camp. Expecting a voluntary ſurrender, they were willing to give their men ſome time to repoſe. To encamp was not in their power. The ſoldiers took the field, prepared for battle, unincumbered, and of courſe without the means of throwing up entrenchments. Their arms and their victory were their only fortification. On the following day, the Othonians ſhewed a pacific diſpoſition; and even thoſe, who the night before breathed nothing but war and vengeance, with one conſent agreed to ſend a deputation to the enemy. The Vitellian leaders were willing to hearken to terms of accommodation. The deputies not returning immediately, the ſuſpenſe occaſioned an awful interval in Otho's camp. Peace was at length announced, and the entrenchments were thrown open.

open. A tender ſcene enſued. The conquerors and the conquered embraced each other, and with mingled joy and ſorrow lamented the horrors of civil war. In the ſame tents, relations, friends, and brothers dreſſed each others wounds. They now perceived that their hopes were a mere deluſion, and that ſlaughter, ſorrow, and repentance were their certain lot. Nor was there in the two armies a ſingle perſon, who had not the death of a friend or a relation to lament. The body of Orphidius, the commander of a legion, after diligent ſearch was found among the ſlain, and burnt with the uſual ſolemnities. A few of the common men were buried by their friends: the reſt were left to welter on the bare earth.

XLVI. OTHO, in the mean time, having taken his reſolution, waited, without fear or dejection of mind, for an account of the event. Vague and uncertain rumours reached his ear. At length the fugitives, who eſcaped from the field, brought ſure intelligence that all was loſt. The ſoldiers, who ſtood near his perſon, did not ſtay to hear the ſentiments of the emperor, but broke out with impatient ardour, exhorting him to ſummon up his beſt reſolution. There were forces ſtill in reſerve, and, in their prince's cauſe, they were ready to brave every danger. In this declaration there was no flattery: they ſpoke from the heart. In a fit of inſtinctive fury they deſired to be led againſt the enemy; by their example the drooping ſpirit of their friends would be once more excited to deeds of valour. The men, who ſtood at a diſtance, ſtretched forth their hands in token of their aſſent, while ſuch as gathered round the prince fell at his feet, and claſped his knees. Plotius Firmus diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal. This officer commanded the prætorian guards. He implored his maſter not to abandon an army devoted to his intereſt, nor to renounce a brave and generous ſoldiery, who had undergone ſo

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much, and were ſtill ready to face every danger. "The noble "mind *(a)*, he ſaid, ſtands a ſiege againſt adverſity, while the "little ſpirit capitulates at once. True courage grapples with "misfortune, and, in the laſt diſtreſs, ſtill makes head againſt "every difficulty. The mean and abject ſink down in deſpair, "and yield without a ſtruggle." The ſoldiers fixed their eyes on the prince, and with every ſymptom in his countenance their paſſions varied. If he aſſented, they thundered forth their applauſe; if he ſeemed inflexible, a groan expreſſed the anguiſh of their hearts. Nor was this ſpirit confined to the prætorians, who were properly the ſoldiers of Otho; it extended to the detachment ſent forward by the Mæſian legions. Thoſe men with one voice declared for Otho; they aſſured him, that the ſame zeal pervaded their comrades, who were coming forward by rapid marches, and even then had entered Aquileia. Hence it is evident, that great reſources ſtill remained, and that a fierce and obſtinate war, uncertain in the event, and big with danger to all parties, might have been renewed, and carried on with vigour.

XLVII. OTHO had weighed all circumſtances: ambition was at an end, and he prepared to cloſe the ſcene *(a)*. He addreſſed the ſoldiers to the following effect: "When I behold the ardour that "glows in every breaſt; when I conſider the virtue that inſpires "ſo many gallant friends, I cannot think of expoſing you again "to the deſtructive ſword; nor do I value my life at ſuch a price. "The views, which you diſplay to me, were I diſpoſed to live, "are bright and tempting: by renouncing them, I fall with "greater glory. I have made acquaintance with fortune; we "have tried each other; for what length of time is not material; "but the felicity, which does not promiſe to laſt, cannot be "enjoyed with moderation. Vitellius began the war; he claimed "the empire, and, by conſequence, I was obliged to have recourſe

"to

" to arms. That we fought once, his ambition was the cauſe; to " end the diſpute by the event of one battle, and ſtop the effuſion " of Roman blood, ſhall be my glory. By this conduct let poſte- " rity judge of Otho. I reſtore to Vitellius his brother, his wife " and children. I want no revenge, I ſeek no lenitives to ſooth " calamity. Others have held the ſovereign power longer than I " have done; with equal calmneſs no man has reſigned it. Can " I give to the edge of the ſword ſo many gallant ſoldiers? Can " I ſee the armies of Rome devoted to mutual ſlaughter, and for " ever cut off from their country? It is enough for me, that in " my cauſe you are ready to ſhed your blood. Let that generous " zeal attend me to my grave. I thank you for it: but you muſt " ſtill ſurvive to ſerve the commonwealth. For this great end, " let us agree to remove all obſtacles; I will be no bar to your " preſervation; nor will you attempt to fruſtrate my reſolution. " When death approaches, to linger in vain diſcourſe, is the ſign of " a little ſpirit. The temper, with which I meet my fate, will " be ſeen and known by this circumſtance: I complain of no " man. He who, in his laſt moments, can look back to arraign " either gods or men, ſtill clings to life, and quits it with " regret."

XLVIII. HAVING thus declared his ſentiments, he talked apart with his friends, addreſſing each of them in gracious terms, according to his rank, his age, or dignity, and adviſing all to depart without loſs of time, and make their terms with the conqueror. He intreated the old men, and with the young exerted his authority. Calm and undiſturbed, ſerenity in his countenance, and firmneſs in his voice, he ſaw his friends weep, and endeavoured to repreſs their tears. He ordered boats or carriages for thoſe who were willing to depart. He ſelected all ſuch papers and letters as happened to contain expreſſions of duty towards himſelf, or

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ill will to Vitellius, and committed them to the flames. He diſtributed money in preſents, but not with the profuſion of a man quitting the world. Obſerving that his brother's ſon, Salvius Cocceianus, a youth in the flower of his age, was diſſolved in tears, he endeavoured to aſſuage his ſorrows. He commended the goodneſs of his heart, but his fears, he ſaid, were out of ſeaſon. "Could it "be ſuppoſed that Vitellius, finding his own family ſafe, would "refuſe, with brutal inhumanity, to return the generoſity ſhewn "to himſelf? My death will leave him without a rival, and that "very act will be a demand upon his clemency; eſpecially, ſince "it is not an act of deſpair, but a voluntary reſignation, made at "a time when a brave and generous army calls aloud for another "battle. For the good of the commonwealth I am a willing "victim. For myſelf I have gained ample renown, and I leave "to my family an illuſtrious name. After the Julian race *(a)*, "the Claudian, and the Servian, I am the firſt who transferred "the ſovereignty to a new family. It becomes you, young man, "to act with courage; you muſt dare to live. Remember that "Otho was your uncle, but remember it with modeſty, and with-"out reſentment."

XLIX. AFTER this, he deſired his friends to withdraw. Being left alone, he compoſed himſelf to reſt, and, in a ſhort time, began to prepare for the laſt act of his life. In that moment he was interrupted by a ſudden uproar. The ſoldiers, he was told, threatened deſtruction to all who offered to depart, and in particular to Verginius *(a)*, whom they kept beſieged in his houſe. Otho went forth to appeaſe the tumult. Having reproved the authors of the diſturbance, he returned to his apartment, and received the viſits of all that came to bid the laſt farewel: he converſed with them freely and cheerfully, and ſaw them depart without let or moleſtation. Towards the cloſe of day, he called for a draught

of cold water, and, having quenched his thirſt, ordered two poniards to be brought to him. He tried the points of both, and laid one under his pillow. Being informed that his friends were ſafe on their way, he paſſed the night in quiet. We are aſſured, that he even ſlept. At the dawn of day, he applied the weapon to his breaſt, and fell upon the point. His dying groans alarmed his freedmen and ſlaves. They ruſhed into the chamber, and with them Plotius Firmus, the prætorian præfect. They found that with one wound he had diſpatched himſelf. His body was burnt without delay. This had been his earneſt requeſt, leſt his head *(b)* ſhould fall into the hands of his enemies, and be made a public ſpectacle. He was borne on the ſhoulders of the prætorian ſoldiers to the funeral pile. The men, during the proceſſion, paid all marks of reſpect to his remains. They printed kiſſes on his hands, and on the mortal wound, and, in a flood of tears, poured forth their warmeſt praiſe. At the funeral pile ſome of the ſoldiers put an end to their lives; not from any conſciouſneſs of guilt, nor yet impelled by fear; but to emulate the example of their prince, and to ſhew themſelves faithful to the laſt. At Bedriacum, Placentia, and other camps, numbers followed the example. A ſepulchre *(c)* was raiſed to the memory of Otho, but of an ordinary ſtructure, protected by its meanneſs, and therefore likely to laſt.

L. Such was the end of Otho, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. He was born in the municipal city of Ferentum. His father was of conſular rank; his grandfather had diſcharged the office of prætor. By the maternal line his deſcent was reſpectable, though not illuſtrious. The features of his character, as well in his earlieſt days *(a)* as in the progreſs of his youth, have been already delineated. By two actions of his life he ſtands diſtinguiſhed; one, atrocious and deteſtable; the other,

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great and magnanimous: the former has conſigned his name to eternal infamy, and the laſt will do honour to his memory. Hiſtory cannot deſcend to the frivolous taſk of collecting vague reports, in order to amuſe the reader with a fabulous detail; but there are traditions, which have been handed down with an air of authenticity, and theſe I ſhall not take upon me to ſuppreſs or to refute. On the day when the battle was fought at Bedriacum, a bird of unuſual appearance was obſerved to perch in a grove near Regium Lepidum *(b)*, and, notwithſtanding the great concourſe of people, and a numerous flight of other birds, never to move from its place till Otho put an end to his life. That event no ſooner happened, than it waved its wings, and vaniſhed out of ſight. The people of the village aver the fact; and according to curious obſervers, who made an exact computation of the time, this extraordinary phænomenon tallied exactly with the beginning of the battle and the prince's death *(c)*.

LI. THE grief of the ſoldiers, at the funeral ceremony, drove them, in a fit of diſtraction, to another mutiny. No officer aſſumed the command; no one interfered to allay the ferment. The men demanded a ſight of Verginius; one moment calling upon him to accept the ſovereignty, and the next, with mingled prayers and menaces, preſſing him to undertake an embaſſy on their behalf to Valens and Cæcina. Verginius, ſeeing them determined to enter his houſe by force, made his eſcape at the back door. The cohorts that lay encamped at Brixellum, deputed Rubrius Gallus with terms of ſubmiſſion. That officer obtained their pardon. At the ſame time Flavius Sabinus made terms for himſelf, and, with the troops under his command, ſubmitted to the conqueror.

LII. THOUGH the war was now at an end, a great part of the

the ſenate, who accompanied Otho from Rome, and by him were left at Mutina, found themſelves involved in the utmoſt danger. They received an account of the defeat at Bedriacum, but the ſoldiers treated it as a falſe alarm. Suſpecting the integrity of the fathers, and fully perſuaded that they were, in ſecret, enemies to Otho and his cauſe, they watched their motions, liſtened to their words, and, with their uſual malignity, gave to every thing that paſſed the worſt conſtruction. They proceeded to reproach and every kind of inſult, hoping to find a pretence for an inſurrection and a general maſſacre. The ſenators ſaw another cloud gathering over their heads: they knew that the Vitellian party triumphed; and, if they were tardy with their congratulations, the delay might be thought a ſpirit of diſaffection. In this dilemma they called a meeting of the whole order. No man dared to act alone. In the conduct of all, each individual hoped to find his own perſonal ſafety. At the ſame time an ill-judged compliment from the people of Mutina increaſed the apprehenſions of the ſenators. The magiſtrates of the city made a tender of arms and money for the public ſervice, and, in the ſtyle of their addreſs, gave to a ſmall party of ſenators the appellation of conſcript fathers; a title always applied to the collective body.

LIII. In the debate that followed in a thin meeting of the fathers, a violent diſpute broke out between Licinius Cæcina and Eprius Marcellus; the former, with warmth and vehemence, charging it as a crime againſt Marcellus, that he ſpoke in ambiguous terms and with ſtudied obſcurity. The caſe was by no means ſingular; all were equally dark and myſterious; but the name of Marcellus, who had conducted ſo many proſecutions *(a)*, was univerſally deteſted, and Cæcina, a new man lately admitted into the ſenate, thought to riſe by encountering powerful enmi-

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ties. The diſpute was ended by the interpoſition of wiſer men. The ſenate adjourned to Bononia, intending there to meet again, when they hoped to have more certain intelligence. They ſtationed meſſengers on all the public roads to interrogate every man that paſſed. One of Otho's freedmen came in their way. Being aſked why he had left his maſter, he made anſwer, "I "have with me the directions and laſt will of the prince, who is "ſtill alive, but he renounces all the joys of life: his thoughts "are fixed upon poſterity, and he has now no other care." This account made an impreſſion on every mind: all ſtood aſtoniſhed, and ſoon after, without aſking any further queſtions, went over to Vitellius.

LIV. Lucius Vitellius, brother of the new emperor, attended the meeting of the ſenate. The fathers began to addreſs him in a flattering ſtrain, and he was willing to receive their incenſe. His joy was ſoon interrupted. One Cænus, a freedman of Nero's, by a bold and impudent falſehood, threw the aſſembly into conſternation. He affirmed it as a fact, that the fourteenth legion, with the forces from Brixellum, attacked the victorious party, and gained a complete victory. The motive of this man for framing a ſtory ſo falſe and groundleſs, was becauſe he ſaw Otho's orders for road horſes *(a)* and carriages no longer in force, and he wiſhed to revive their former authority. By this ſtratagem he gained a quick conveyance to Rome, and in a few days was put to death by order of Vitellius. In the mean time, the Othonian ſoldiers gave credit to the fiction, and even believed that the fathers, who had departed from Mutina to deliberate at Bononia, were gone over to the enemy. From this time the ſenate was convened no more. Every man acted with his own private views, till letters arrived from Fabius Valens, and

and put an end to all their fears. Beſides this, the death of Otho was univerſally known. The velocity of fame was equal to the glory of that heroic action.

LV. MEANWHILE, at Rome a general calm prevailed. The games ſacred to Ceres *(a)* were celebrated according to annual cuſtom. In the midſt of the public ſpectacle intelligence arrived that Otho was no more, and that all the military then in the city had, at the requiſition of Flavius Sabinus, ſworn fidelity to Vitellius: the people heard the news with tranſport, and the theatre ſhook with applauſe. The audience, crowned with laurel wreaths, and ſtrewing the way with flowers, went forth in proceſſion, and, with the images of Galba diſplayed in a triumphant manner, viſited the ſeveral temples, and afterwards with their chaplets raiſed a fancied tomb to his memory, on the ſpot, near the lake of Curtius, where that emperor breathed his laſt. The various honours, which flattery, at different times, had laviſhed on former princes, were decreed by the ſenate to the new ſovereign. They paſſed a vote of thanks to the German armies, and diſpatched ſpecial meſſengers to congratulate Vitellius on his acceſſion to the imperial dignity. A letter from Fabius Valens to the conſuls was read in the ſenate; and though there was nothing of arrogance in the ſtyle, the reſpectful modeſty of Cæcina, who remained ſilent, gave greater ſatisfaction.

LVI. PEACE was now eſtabliſhed throughout Italy; but it was a peace more deſtructive than the calamities of war. The Vitellian ſoldiers, quartered in the colonies and municipal cities, were ſtill bent on ſpoil and rapine. They committed the moſt horrible outrages, deflowering the women, and trampling on all laws human and divine. Where they refrained from injury, they received a bribe for their forbearance. Nothing ſacred or

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profane was ſpared. Innocent men were marked out as ſoldiers of Otho's party, and, under that pretence, murdered by their private enemies. The ſoldiers who beſt knew the country, fixed upon the opulent farmers as their devoted prey. Where the lands were rich, they laid waſte and plundered without controul. All who reſiſted were put to the ſword. The general officers had no power to check the miſchief. What they had done themſelves, they could not oppoſe in others. Cæcina had not the avarice of his colleague; popularity was his paſſion. Valens, on the contrary, had made himſelf infamous by his rapacity, and was therefore obliged to connive, when he ſaw his own vices practiſed by others. Italy was long ſince exhauſted, and, in that impoveriſhed ſtate, obliged to maintain numerous armies, and to bear the ſuperadded grievances of riot, inſult, and devaſtation.

LVII. VITELLIUS, in the mean time, advanced towards Italy with the remainder of the German armies, ignorant of his victory, and ſtill conceiving that he was to meet the whole weight of the war. A few of the veteran ſoldiers were left behind in winter quarters; and to recruit the legions, which retained little more than their name, haſty levies were made in Gaul. On the frontiers bordering on the Rhine the command was given to Hordeonius Flaccus. To his own army Vitellius added eight thouſand men from Britain. Having marched a few days, he received intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and the concluſion of the war by the death of Otho. He called an aſſembly of the ſoldiers, and, in a public harangue, extolled the valour of the troops that conquered in his ſervice. He had with him a freedman of the name of Aſiaticus *(a)*. The army wiſhed to ſee him raiſed to the dignity of a Roman knight. Vitellius knew that the requeſt was a flight of adulation, and had the ſpirit to reject

reject it; but such was his natural levity, that what he refused in public, he granted in private over his bottle. And thus a despicable slave, who was goaded on by ambition, and had nothing to recommend him but his vices, was honoured with the equestrian ring.

LVIII. About the same time Vitellius received advices that the two Mauritanias *(a)* had acceded to his party. This event was occasioned by the murder of Luceius Albinus, the governor of that country. The province which was called Cæsariensis had been by Nero committed to Albinus; and the other, called Tingitana, was afterwards added by Galba. In consequence of his extensive command, the governor was master of a considerable force; not less than nineteen cohorts, five squadrons of horse, and a numerous body of Moors, accustomed to live by depredation, and by their hardy course of life prepared for the fatigues of war. Albinus, on the death of Galba, declared in favour of Otho, and, not content with his power in Africa, began to form an enterprise against Spain, which was separated by a narrow channel *(b)*. Cluvius Rufus presided in Spain. Alarmed at the projects of the commander in Africa, he ordered the tenth legion to march to the sea-coast, with a design, as he gave out, to cross the sea. In the mean time he dispatched a few chosen centurions to tamper with the Moors, and draw them over to the interest of Vitellius. This was not a difficult task. The fame of the German armies resounded through all the provinces. A report prevailed, at the same time, that Albinus, disdaining the title of procurator, had usurped the regal diadem, and the name of Juba.

LIX. The currents of popular opinion were by these cir-

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cumſtances entirely changed in Africa. Aſinius Pollio, who commanded a ſquadron of horſe in that country, and profeſſed himſelf devoted to Albinus, was immediately murdered. Feſtus and Scipio, each the præfect of a cohort, ſhared the ſame fate. Albinus himſelf, after a ſhort voyage from the province of Tingitana to that of Cæſarienſis, was put to death as ſoon as he landed. His wife, attempting to oppoſe the aſſaſſins, periſhed with her huſband. Theſe tranſactions paſſed without the notice of Vitellius. Nothing awakened his curioſity. Even in matters of the higheſt importance, the attention of a moment was all that could be expected from a man who had neither talents nor application to buſineſs. He ordered his army to purſue their march into Italy, while he himſelf ſailed down the Arar *(a)*; not with the pomp and grandeur of a prince, but ſtill expoſing to public view the diſtreſs and poverty *(b)* of his former condition. At length Junius Blæſus, at that time governor of the Lyoneſe Gaul, a man of a large and liberal mind, by his birth illuſtrious, and of a ſpirit equal to his vaſt poſſeſſions, ſupplied Vitellius with a train ſuited to the imperial dignity, and attended in perſon to do honour to the new emperor. Vitellius ſaw this diſplay of magnificence with an evil eye, but under ſpecious and even ſervile careſſes took care to hide his jealouſy. At Lyons the general officers of both parties, as well the vanquiſhed as the victorious, attended to do homage to the prince. Vitellius in a public ſpeech pronounced the panegyric of Valens and Cæcina, whom he placed on each ſide of his curule chair. He then ordered out the whole army to receive his ſon, then an infant of tender years. The ſoldiers obeyed. The father took the child in his arms, and, having adorned him with a purple robe, and other marks of princely grandeur, ſaluted him by the title of GERMANICUS; in this manner beſtowing extravagant

gant honours, even in the tide of proſperity, ill judged and out of ſeaſon; but, perhaps, in the reverſe of fortune that happened afterwards, ſome ſource of conſolation.

LX. The centurions, who had ſignalized themſelves in Otho's ſervice, were by order of Vitellius put to death. By this act of cruelty he loſt the affections of the forces from Illyricum. The reſt of the legions caught the infection, and, being already on bad terms with the German ſoldiery, began to meditate a revolt. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus were kept for ſome time in a wretched ſtate of ſuſpenſe. Being at length admitted to an audience, they made a defence, which nothing but the neceſſity of the times could excuſe. They charged themſelves with treachery to Otho, and to their own ſiniſter deſigns aſcribed the march of the army on the day of battle, the fatigue of the troops, and the confuſion in the ranks, occaſioned by not removing the baggage, with many other incidents, from which, though accidental, they derived to themſelves the merit of fraud and perfidy. Vitellius gave them credit for their guilt, and pardoned, though they had been in arms againſt himſelf, their attachment to his enemy. Salvius Titianus was exempt from danger. Natural affection made him join his brother, and his deſpicable character ſheltered him from reſentment. Marius Celſus, conſul elect, was ſuffered to ſucceed to his honours, though Cæcilius Simplex, as was generally believed, endeavoured by bribery to ſupplant him. His ambition aimed at the conſulſhip, and would fain have riſen on the ruins of an Othonian officer. The attempt was afterwards objected to him in open ſenate. The emperor, however, withſtood his ſolicitations, but, in time, raiſed him *(a)* to that high office, without the guilt of bribery or murder. Trachalus was attacked by his enemies, but owed his ſafety to the protection of Galeria, the wife of Vitellius.

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LXI. AMIDST the dangers that involved the firſt men of the age, it may be thought beneath the dignity of hiſtory to relate the wild adventure of one Mariccus, a Boian by birth, and ſprung from the dregs of the people. This man, however mean his condition, had the preſumption to mix his name with men who fought for the empire of the world. In a fit of enthuſiaſm, pretending to have præternatural lights, he called himſelf the tutelar Deity of Gaul, and, in the character of a god, dared to defy the Roman arms. He played the impoſtor ſo well, that he was able to muſter eight thouſand men. At the head of that deluded multitude, he made an attempt on the adjacent villages of the Æduans. The people of that nation were not to be deluded. They armed the flower of their youth, and, with a reinforcement from the Roman cohorts, attacked the fanatics, and put the whole body to the rout. Mariccus was taken priſoner, and ſoon after given to the wild beaſts *(a)*. The populace, aſtoniſhed to ſee that he was not immediately torn to pieces, believed him to be ſacred and inviolable. Vitellius ordered him to be executed under his own eye, and that cataſtrophe cured the people of their bigotry.

LXII. FROM this time the partiſans of Otho were no longer perſecuted. Their perſons and their effects remained inviolable. The laſt wills of ſuch as fell in that unfortunate cauſe were allowed to be valid, and, where no will was made, the law in caſes of inteſtacy took its courſe. In fact, it was the luxury of Vitellius that oppreſſed mankind: from his avarice there was nothing to fear. His gluttony *(a)* knew no bounds. To adminiſter to his appetite, Rome and Italy were ranſacked for rarities. The roads from both the ſeas rung with a din of carriages, loaded with whatever was exquiſite to the palate. To entertain him on his march, the principal men of every city were obliged to laviſh all

their wealth, and the country was exhauſted. The ſoldiers, degenerating into a band of epicures, loſt all regard for military duty. They deſpiſed their prince, yet followed his example. Vitellius, by an edict ſent forward to Rome, ſignified his pleaſure to poſtpone for the preſent the title of Auguſtus; and for that of Cæſar, he declined it altogether. The prerogative of the prince was ſufficient for his ambition. He ordered the mathematicians to be baniſhed out of Italy, and, under heavy penalties, reſtrained the Roman knights from diſgracing themſelves by fighting prizes like common gladiators, and by exhibiting their perſons on the public ſtage. That infamous practice was introduced by former princes, who did not ſcruple to allure men to the theatre by donations of money, and, when bribery failed, to drive them to it by force and violence. The contagion reached the municipal towns and colonies, where it became the general practice to lie in wait for the young and profligate, in order, by the temptation of money, to invite them to diſgrace and infamy.

LXIII. The character of Vitellius, ſoon after the arrival of his brother *(a)*, and other courtiers from Rome, came forth in the blackeſt colours. That pernicious crew began to teach their maxims of deſpotiſm, and the prince diſplayed his cruelty and his arrogance. He gave orders for the execution of Dolabella, who, as already ſtated, on the firſt breaking out of the war was baniſhed by Otho to the colony of Aquine. Being there informed of that emperor's death, he ventured to return to Rome. That ſtep was objected to him as a crime by his intimate friend, Plancius Varus, a man of prætorian rank. He preferred his accuſation, in form, before Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city. The ſpecific charges were, that Dolabella broke from his place of confinement, to offer himſelf as a leader to the vanquiſhed party, and, with that view, had endeavoured to ſeduce to his intereſt the

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the cohort ſtationed at Oſtia. In the courſe of the trial, Dolabella heard the whole of the evidence with undaunted firmneſs, never ſhewing the ſmalleſt ſymptom of anxiety; but ſentence of condemnation was pronounced, and he then found it too late to ſue for mercy. The buſineſs, however, ſeemed to Flavius Sabinus of ſuch importance, that he began to heſitate, till Triaria, the wife of Lucius Vitellius, a woman fierce and cruel beyond her ſex, adviſed him not to ſeek the fame of clemency, by ſacrificing the intereſt of the prince. Sabinus did not want humanity; but, when danger threatened himſelf, his reſolution failed. With a ſudden change of mind he began to temporiſe, and, in order to ſecure his own perſonal ſafety, lent his aid to precipitate the fall of a man, whom he did not dare to protect.

LXIV. By this buſineſs Vitellius was alarmed for himſelf, and he had motives of inveterate hatred. Petronia, his former wife *(a)*, was no ſooner divorced, than Dolabella married her. Hence that unhappy man was an object of the emperor's fixed reſentment. By letters diſpatched to Rome, he invited him to his preſence, adviſing him, at the ſame time, to ſhun the Flaminian road, and come more privately by the way of Interamnium. At that place, he ordered him to be put to death. The aſſaſſin thought he ſhould loſe too much time. Impatient to do his work, he attacked Dolabella at an inn on the road, and, having ſtretched him on the ground, cut his throat. Such was the beginning of the new reign, a prelude to ſcenes of blood that were ſtill to follow. The furious ſpirit of Triaria, who took ſo active a part in this affair, was the more deteſted, as it ſtood in contraſt to the mild character of Galeria, the emperor's wife, and alſo to that of Sextilia *(b)*, his mother; a woman of virtue and benevolence, formed on the model of ancient manners. On receipt of the firſt letters from the emperor, wherein he aſſumed the

the title of Germanicus, ſhe is ſaid to have declared, that ſhe had no ſon of that name, but was the mother of Vitellius *(c)*. She perſevered with the ſame equal temper, never elated by the ſplendour of her family, nor deceived by the voice of flattery. In the proſperity of her ſons ſhe took no part; in their diſtreſs, ſhe grieved for their misfortunes.

LXV. VITELLIUS ſet out from Lyons, but had not proceeded far, when he was met by Marcus Cluvius Rufus, who came from his government in Spain, to congratulate the emperor on his acceſſion. That officer appeared with joy in his countenance, and anxiety in his heart. He knew that an accuſation had been prepared againſt him, by Hilarius, one of the emperor's freedmen, importing that, during the war between Otho and Vitellius, Rufus intended to ſet up for himſelf, and convert both the Spains into an independant ſtate; and that, with this view, he had iſſued various edicts, without inſerting the name of any prince whatever, and alſo made public harangues, to blacken the character of Vitellius, and recommend himſelf to popular favour. The intereſt of Rufus was too powerful. He triumphed over his adverſary, and the freedman was condemned to puniſhment. Rufus, from that time, ranked among the emperor's intimate friends. He continued in favour at court, and, at the ſame time, retained his government of Spain; during his abſence carrying on the adminiſtration of the province by his deputies, according to the precedent left by Lucius Arruntius *(a)*, whom Tiberius, from ſuſpicion and the jealouſy of his nature, never ſuffered to depart from Rome. Trebellius Maximus *(b)* had not the good fortune to meet with equal favour. He had been the governor of Britain, but by a mutiny among the ſoldiers was obliged to eſcape out of the iſland. Vectius Bolanus *(c)*, then a follower of the court, ſucceeded to the command.

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LXVI. VITELLIUS heard, with deep anxiety, that the vanquiſhed legions ſtill retained a fierce and unconquered ſpirit. Diſperſed through Italy, and in every quarter intermixed with the victorious troops, they talked in a ſtyle of diſaffection, breathing vengeance and new commotions. The fourteenth legion took the lead, denying, with ferocity, that they were ever conquered. It was true, they ſaid, that at Bedriacum a vexillary detachment from their body was defeated, but the legion had no ſhare in the action. To remove ſuch turbulent ſpirits, it was judged proper to order them back into Britain, where they had been ſtationed, till recalled by Nero. The Batavian cohorts were ordered to march at the ſame time, and, as an old animoſity ſubſiſted between them and the ſoldiers of the fourteenth legion, orders were given that they ſhould all be quietly quartered together. Between men inflamed with mutual hatred a quarrel ſoon broke out. It happened, at the capital of the Turinians *(a)*, that a Batavian ſoldier had words with a tradeſman, whom he charged with fraud and impoſition. A man belonging to the legion took the part of his landlord. A diſpute enſued; their comrades joined them; from abuſive language they proceeded to blows; and, if two prætorian cohorts had not overawed the Batavians, a bloody conflict muſt have been the conſequence. Vitellius, ſatisfied with the fidelity of the Batavians, incorporated them with his army. The legion had orders to proceed over the Graian Alps *(b)*, and by no means to approach the city of Vienne, where the inhabitants were ſuſpected of diſaffection. The legion marched in the night, and left their fires burning. The conſequence was a conflagration, by which a great part of the Turinian city was deſtroyed. The loſs ſuſtained by the inhabitants, like many other calamities of war, was ſoon obliterated by the ruin of other cities. The ſoldiers had ſcarce deſcended from the Alps, when they ordered the ſtandard-bearers to march towards the colony of Vienne. The attempt, how-

however, was prevented by the good ſenſe of ſuch as were obſervers of diſcipline, and the whole legion paſſed over into Britain.

LXVII. The prætorian cohorts gave no leſs diſquietude to Vitellius. To break their force, he ſeparated them firſt into ſmall parties, and ſoon after diſcharged them from the ſervice; profeſſing, however, in order to ſoften reſentment, that they were, by their length of ſervice, entitled to an honourable diſmiſſion. They delivered up their arms to the tribunes; but, being informed that Veſpaſian was in motion, they aſſembled again, and proved the beſt ſupport of the Flavian cauſe. The firſt legion of marines was ordered into Spain, that in repoſe and indolence their ſpirit might evaporate. The ſeventh and eleventh returned to their old winter quarters. For the thirteenth employment was found in the building of two amphitheatres; one at Cremona, and the other at Bononia. In the former Cæcina was preparing to exhibit a ſpectacle of gladiators, and Valens in the latter; both wiſhing to gratify the taſte of their maſter, whom, in the midſt of arduous affairs, nothing could wean from his habitual pleaſures.

LXVIII. By theſe meaſures, the vanquiſhed party was ſufficiently weakened; but the ſpirit of the conquerors could not long endure a ſtate of tranquillity. A quarrel broke out, in its origin ſlight and ridiculous, but attended with conſequences that kindled the flame of war with redoubled fury *(a)*. The occaſion was as follows: Vitellius gave a banquet at Ticinum, and Verginius was of the party. The manners of the chiefs are ever ſure to ſet the faſhion for the tribunes and centurions. From the example of the officers, vice or virtue deſcends to the ſoldiers. In the army of Vitellius, all was diſorder and confuſion; a ſcene of drunken jollity, reſembling a bacchanalian rout, rather than a camp, or a

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diſciplined army. It happened that two ſoldiers, one belonging to the fifth legion, the other a native of Gaul, ſerving among the auxiliaries of that nation, challenged each other to a trial of ſkill in wreſtling. The Roman was thrown; his antagoniſt exulted with an air of triumph; and the ſpectators, who had gathered round them, were ſoon divided into parties.

The legions, provoked by the inſolence of the Gaul, attacked the auxiliaries ſword in hand. Two cohorts were cut to pieces. The ſudden danger of another tumult put an end to the fray. A cloud of duſt was ſeen at a diſtance, and, at intervals, the glittering of arms. A report was inſtantly ſpread, that the fourteenth legion was returning to offer battle; but the miſtake was ſoon diſcovered. It was found, that the men who brought up the rear of the army were approaching. That circumſtance being known, the tumult ſubſided, till one of the ſlaves of Verginius was obſerved by the ſoldiers. They ſeized the man, and, in their fury, charged him with a deſign to aſſaſſinate Vitellius. With this notion in their heads, they ruſhed directly to the banqueting-room, and with rage and clamour demanded the immediate execution of Verginius. The emperor, though by nature addicted to ſuſpicion, entertained no doubt of Verginius. He interpoſed to ſave his life, and with difficulty reſtrained the men, who thirſted for the blood of a conſular commander, at one time their own general. It had ever been the fate of Verginius, more than of any other officer, to encounter the ſeditious ſpirit of the army. His character, notwithſtanding, was held in great eſteem; his brilliant talents extorted admiration even from his enemies; but the moderation, with which he rejected the imperial dignity, was conſidered as an affront. The ſoldiers thought themſelves deſpiſed, and from that moment reſented the injury.

LXIX. On

LXIX. On the following day, the deputies from the ſenate, who according to order attended at Ticinum, were admitted to an audience. That buſineſs over, Vitellius viſited the camp, and, in a public harangue, expreſſed a lively ſenſe of the zeal which the ſoldiers had exerted in his ſervice. This proceeding rouſed the jealouſy of the auxiliaries. They ſaw the inſolence of the legionary ſoldiers, and the impunity with which they committed the moſt outrageous actions. It was to prevent the conſequences of this dangerous jealouſy, that the Batavian cohorts had been ordered back to Germany, the fates even then preparing the ſeeds of a foreign *(a)* and a civil war. The allies from Gaul were alſo diſmiſſed to their reſpective ſtates; a vaſt unwieldy multitude, drawn together in the beginning of the revolt, not for actual ſervice, but chiefly for vain parade, and to ſwell the pomp of a numerous army. The imperial revenues being well nigh exhauſted, there was reaſon to apprehend a want of funds to anſwer the largeſſes of the prince. To prevent that diſtreſs, Vitellius ordered the complement of the legions and auxiliaries to be reduced, and no new levies to be made. Diſmiſſions from the ſervice were granted indiſcriminately to all who applied. The policy was of the worſt conſequence to the commonwealth, and, at the ſame time, a grievance to the ſoldiers, who felt themſelves oppreſſed by returns of military duty, too frequent for the ſcanty numbers that remained. Their fatigue increaſed, while their manners were debauched, and their vigour waſted by the vices of a luxurious life, ſo different from the inſtitutions of the old republic, when money was deſpiſed, and virtue was the energy of the ſtate.

LXX. Vitellius proceeded to Cremona. Having there attended a ſpectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina, he was led by curioſity to the field of Bedriacum, in order to ſee on the

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ſpot the veſtiges of his recent victory. The fields around preſented a mournful ſpectacle. Forty days *(a)* had elapſed, and the plain was ſtill covered with bodies, gaſhed and mangled; with broken limbs, and men and horſes in one promiſcuous carnage; clotted gore, and filth, and putrefaction; the trees cut down, and the fruits of the earth trampled under foot; the whole a dreary waſte, the deſolation of nature. The view of the high road was no leſs ſhocking to humanity. The people of Cremona, amidſt the horrors that covered the face of the country, had ſtrewed the way with roſes and laurels, and had even raiſed altars, where victims were ſlain, as if a nation of ſlaves had been employed to adorn the triumph of a deſpotic prince. But theſe ſervile acts, with which an abject people rejoiced over human miſery, in a ſhort time after brought on their own deſtruction. Valens and Cæcina attended the emperor to the field. They pointed to the particular ſpots, where the ſtreſs of the battle lay: "Here the legions ruſhed on to the attack; there the cavalry bore "down all before them; from that quarter the auxiliaries wheeled "about, and ſurrounded the enemy." The tribunes and præfects of cohorts talked of their own exploits; and the truth, if they mingled any, was warped and diſfigured by exaggeration. The common ſoldiers quitted the road, to mark the places where they had fought, and to ſurvey the arms and dead bodies of the vanquiſhed piled up in heaps. They viewed the ſcene with brutal joy, and wondered at the deſtruction they had made. Some, with generous ſympathy, felt the lot of humanity, and tears guſhed from every eye. Vitellius ſhewed no ſymptom of compaſſion. He ſaw, without emotion, the bodies of Roman citizens unburied on the naked ground, and, with fell delight, offered a ſacrifice to the deities of the place, little then ſuſpecting the reverſe of fortune which was ſoon to overtake himſelf.

LXXI. At

LXXI. At Bononia Fabius Valens exhibited a ſhew of gladiators, with a pompous diſplay of decorations, which he had ordered to be brought from Rome. In proportion as the emperor advanced towards the capital, riot and licentiouſneſs grew ſtill more outrageous. Players of interludes and a band of eunuchs mixed with the ſoldiers, and revived all the vices of Nero's court. Vitellius admired the manners of that ſhameful period, and wherever Nero went to diſplay his voice and minſtrelſy, he was ſure to be one of his followers, not by compulſion, as was the caſe with men of integrity, but of his own motion, a willing ſycophant, allured by his palate, and bribed by gluttony. In order to open the way for Valens and Cæcina to the honours of the conſulſhip, the time of thoſe in office *(a)* was abridged. Martius Macer *(b)*, who had been a general in Otho's party, was paſſed over in ſilence; and Valerius Marinus, who had been put in nomination by Galba, was alſo ſet aſide, not for any charge alleged againſt him, but becauſe, being a man of a paſſive temper, he was willing to acquieſce under every injury without a murmur. Pedanius Coſta ſhared the ſame fate. He had taken an active part againſt Nero, and even endeavoured to excite the ambition of Verginius. He was, in fact, rejected for that offence, though other reaſons were pretended. For this proceeding, Vitellius received public thanks: to acts of oppreſſion, the ſervility of the times gave the name of wiſdom.

LXXII. About this time a daring fraud was attempted, at firſt with rapid ſucceſs, but in a ſhort time totally defeated. A man of low condition thought he might emerge from obſcurity, by taking upon him the name of Scribonianus Camerinus *(a)*. His ſtory was, that, during the reign of Nero, to elude the fury of the times, he had lain concealed in Iſtria, where the followers of the ancient Craſſi ſtill occupied the lands of their former maſters,

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and retained their veneration for that illuſtrious houſe. To carry on this ridiculous farce, the impoſtor engaged the vile and profligate in his intereſt. The vulgar, with their uſual credulity, and the ſoldiers, either led into an error or excited by their love of innovation, joined in the plot. Their leader was ſeized, and brought into the preſence of Vitellius. Being interrogated who and what he was, he was found to be a fugitive ſlave, of the name of Geta, recognized, as ſoon as ſeen, by his maſter. He was condemned to ſuffer the death of a ſlave *(b)*, in the manner inflicted by the law.

LXXIII. ADVICE was at length received from Syria and Judæa, that the eaſt ſubmitted to the new emperor. The pride with which Vitellius was bloated upon this occaſion, is ſcarcely credible. Intelligence from that part of the world had been hitherto vague and uncertain; but Veſpaſian was in the mouths of men, and the rumour of the day filled the world with reports, that ſometimes rouſed Vitellius from his lethargy. He ſtarted at the name of Veſpaſian. At length the cloud was blown over, and a rival was no longer dreaded. The emperor and his army plunged into every exceſs of cruelty, luſt, and rapine, as if a foreign tyranny and foreign manners had overturned the empire.

LXXIV. MEANWHILE Veſpaſian took a view of his own ſituation, and weighed with care all poſſible events. He conſidered the importance of the war, and made an eſtimate of his ſtrength, the reſources in his power, and the forces at a diſtance, as well as thoſe that lay near at hand. The legions were devoted to his intereſt, inſomuch that, when he ſhewed himſelf the firſt to ſwear fidelity to Vitellius, and offer up vows for the proſperity of his reign, the ſoldiers marked their diſpleaſure by a ſullen ſilence. Mucianus was the friend of Titus, and by no means

averſe from the father. The præfect of Ægypt, whoſe name was Alexander, was ready to promote the enterpriſe. The third legion, which had been removed from Syria to Mæſia, Veſpaſian conſidered as his own, and had, beſides, good reaſon to hope, that the forces in Illyricum would enter into the confederacy. In fact, the armies, wherever ſtationed, were every day more and more incenſed againſt the ſoldiers that came amongſt them from the Vitellian party; a ſet of men, rough and horrid in their appearance, ſavage in their manners, and in their brutal diſcourſe affecting to treat the legions of the eaſt with contempt and deriſion. But in an enterpriſe of ſuch importance, it was natural to doubt, and heſitate. Veſpaſian remained for ſome time in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, now elate with hope, and ſoon depreſſed with fear. "What "an awful day muſt that be, when he ſhould unſheath the ſword, "and commit himſelf, at the age of ſixty, with his two ſons *(a)* "in the prime ſeaſon of life, to the danger of a civil war! In "undertakings of a private nature, men may advance or retreat, "as they ſee occaſion; but when the conteſt is for ſovereign "power, there is no middle courſe. You muſt conquer, or "periſh in the attempt."

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LXXV. An officer of his experience was no ſtranger to the ſtrength and valour of the German armies. "The legions under "his command had not been tried in a war againſt their fellow "citizens, while, on the other hand, the Vitellians added to their "experience all the pride of victory. The vanquiſhed would, "undoubtedly, be diſſatisfied; but to murmur diſcontent was "all that fortune left in their power. In the rage of civil war "the common ſoldier renounces every honeſt principle; trea-"chery becomes habitual; and every man who ſets no value on "his own life, holds the chief in his power. Cohorts of foot, "and ſquadrons of horſe, make a vain parade, if one intrepid "villain,

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" villain, for the reward promiſed by the adverſe party, may " ſtrike a ſudden blow, and by a murder terminate the war. " Such was the fate of Scribonianus *(a)* in the reign of Claudius: " he was murdered by Volaginius, a common ſoldier, and the " higheſt poſts in the ſervice were the wages of that deſperate " aſſaſſin. An army may be drawn up in order of battle, and " to animate them to deeds of valour is not a difficult taſk: but " the private ruffian is not eaſily avoided."

LXXVI. Such were the reflections that preſented themſelves to the mind of Veſpaſian. His friends and the principal officers endeavoured to fix his reſolution. Mucianus lent his aid, and, not content with private conferences, took a public opportunity to declare his ſentiments, in effect as follows: " In " all great and arduous undertakings, the queſtions of importance " are, Is the enterpriſe for the good of the commonwealth? Will " it do honour to the man who conducted it? And are the diffi- " culties ſuch as wiſdom and valour may ſurmount? Nor is this " all: the character of the man who adviſes the meaſure ſhould " be duly weighed: Is he willing to ſecond the counſel, which " he gives, at the hazard of his life? What are his views? And " who is to reap the reward of victory? It is Mucianus who " now calls upon Veſpaſian; Mucianus invites you to imperial " dignity; for the good of the commonwealth he invites you; " for your own glory he exhorts you to undertake the enter- " priſe. The gods are with you, and under them the reſt de- " pends upon yourſelf. The advice which I give is honeſt: " there is no flattery in it. For let me aſk, can it be flattery to " prefer you to Vitellius? To be elected after ſuch an emperor " is rather a diſgrace. With whom are we to contend? Not " with the active mind of Auguſtus, nor with the craft of the " politic Tiberius. Nor is it againſt Caligula, Claudius, or Nero, " that

" that we propoſe to riſe in arms. They had a kind of here-
" ditary right: their families were in poſſeſſion of the ſove-
" reignty.

" Even Galba could boaſt of an illuſtrious line of anceſtors,
" and for that reaſon you were willing to acknowledge his title.
" But in the preſent juncture, to remain inactive, and leave the
" commonwealth a prey to vice and infamy, were a deſertion of
" the public, which nothing can excuſe. Do you imagine that
" in a ſtate of ſervitude you can find your own perſonal ſafety?
" Even in that caſe, ſubmiſſion would be attended with diſgrace
" and infamy. But ambition is not now imputed to you for
" the firſt time: you have been long ſuſpected, and nothing
" remains but vigorous enterpriſe. The ſovereign power is your
" only refuge. Have we forgot the fate of Corbulo *(a)*? It may
" be ſaid that the nobility of his birth (ſuperior, it muſt be con-
" feſſed, to you as well as myſelf) expoſed him to danger. It
" may be ſo; but let it be remembered, that Nero towered above
" Vitellius: and remember beſides, that, in the eyes of the perſon,
" who lives in fear, the man who makes himſelf dreaded, is
" illuſtrious. Do we doubt whether the armies can create an
" emperor? Vitellius furniſhes the proof; a man without mili-
" tary fame, who never ſerved a campaign; but owes his ele-
" vation, not to his own merit, but to Galba's want of popularity.
" His victory was not obtained by the ability of his generals, or
" the valour of his troops: Otho was conquered by his own
" hand. That precipitate action made Vitellius maſter of
" the Roman world, and, in return, the infamy of Vitellius
" gives a luſtre to the name of Otho, inſomuch, that men regret
" that unfortunate prince.

" At preſent, what is the conduct of our new emperor? He

 " diſbands

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" diſbands the legions; he diſarms the cohorts, and every day fur-
" niſhes arms againſt himſelf. The ferocity of his ſoldiers, what-
" ever it may have been, has long ſince evaporated in victualling-
" houſes and drunken revelry. After the example of their
" maſter, the ſoldiers are diſſolved in ſloth and luxury. On the
" other hand, you have in Syria, Judæa, and Ægypt, no leſs
" than nine legions, all high in ſpirit, unimpaired by war, and
" not yet taught by ſedition to renounce all regard for diſci-
" pline. You have an army enured to the operations of war,
" and crowned with victory over the enemies of their country.
" You have a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, a naval arma-
" ment, and powerful kings, all devoted to your cauſe. Above
" all, you have your own talents and your renown in arms.

LXXVII. " To myſelf I arrogate nothing: yet let me not
" be thought inferior to Valens or Cæcina. If Mucianus does
" not aſpire to be your rival, you will not therefore think meanly
" of him. Willing to yield to Veſpaſian, I claim precedence
" of Vitellius. Your houſe has been diſtinguiſhed by triumphal
" honours *(a)*; you have two ſons, and one of them *(b)* is al-
" ready equal to the weight of empire. The German armies
" ſaw him give an earneſt of his future character. Were I this
" very moment poſſeſſed of the ſovereign power, I ſhould call
" Titus my ſon by adoption; with propriety, therefore, I yield
" to his father. The enterpriſe, to which I exhort you, will
" not, in its conſequences, be the ſame to us both. If we ſuc-
" ceed, the honours which I may receive muſt flow from you:
" in toil and danger I am willing to be your rival; or, if you
" will (and it is the beſt expedient), remain here to iſſue your
" orders, and leave me to conduct the war.

" The troops that lately conquered are by no means formi-
" dable.

" dable. In the vanquiſhed party there is more order and better " diſcipline. The latter, ſtung with ſhame and indignation, are " burning for revenge. All motives conſpire to inflame their " ardour. The Vitellians, on the contrary, intoxicated with " ſucceſs, and elate with pride, diſdain all rules of ſubordination. " They are undone by luxury. Their wounds, as yet ſcarcely " cloſed, will open in a new war and bleed afreſh. My depend- " ance, it is true, muſt be upon your vigilance, your œconomy, " your wiſdom; but I expect no leſs advantage from the igno- " rance, the ſtupidity, and cruel diſpoſition of Vitellius. In a " word, war muſt be our choice; to us it is ſafer than peace, for " we have already deliberated; and he who deliberates, has re- " belled."

LXXVIII. By this animating ſpeech all who aſſiſted at the council were inſpired with new confidence. They preſſed round Veſpaſian, exhorting him to undertake the enterpriſe; they recalled to his memory the reſponſes of oracles *(a)*, and the predictions of men ſkilled in judicial aſtrology. Nor was Veſpaſian untinctured with that ſuperſtition. Even afterwards, when poſſeſſed of the ſupreme authority, he retained a mathematician named Seleucus, to aſſiſt his councils with his inſight into future events. A number of prognoſtics, that occurred to him in his youth, came freſh into his mind. He recollected a cypreſs tree of prodigious ſize on his own eſtate, that fell ſuddenly to the ground, and, on the following day, roſe on the ſame ſpot, and flouriſhed in new ſtrength and verdure. This was conſidered by the interpreters of prodigies as an early prelude to future grandeur. At length, having obtained triumphal honours, together with the conſular rank; when he had conducted the war againſt the Jews with ſuch rapid ſucceſs, the prediction ſeemed to be verified; and thus encouraged, he looked from that eminence to higher

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higher elevation, and even to the imperial dignity. Between Syria and Judæa ſtands a mountain, known by the name of MOUNT CARMEL *(b)*, on the top of which a god is worſhipped, under no other title than that of the place, and, according to ancient uſage, without a temple, or even a ſtatue. An altar is erected in the open air, and there adoration is paid to the preſiding deity. On this ſpot Veſpaſian offered a ſacrifice. In the midſt of the ceremony, while his mind expanded with vaſt ideas, Baſilides, the officiating prieſt, examined the entrails of the victims, and in his prophetic manner addreſſing himſelf to Veſpaſian, "Whatever," he ſaid, "are your deſigns, whether to build a man-"ſion, to enlarge your eſtate, or increaſe the number of your ſlaves, "the fates prepare for you a vaſt and magnificent ſeat, with "an immenſe territory, and a prodigious multitude of men." This prediction, though involved in myſterious language, was ſpread abroad at the time, and now received a favourable interpretation. The ſtory gathered ſtrength among the populace, and in converſation with Veſpaſian was the favourite topic of his friends, who thought they could not enlarge too much on the ſubject, while the paſſions of the hearer ſtood ready to receive their advice.

LXXIX. MUCIANUS and Veſpaſian ſettled their plan, and took leave of each other: the former went to Antioch, the capital of Syria, and the latter to Cæſarea, the metropolis of Judæa. The firſt public ſtep towards creating Veſpaſian emperor of Rome, was taken at Alexandria in Ægypt: Tiberius Alexander, the præfect of the province, eager to ſhew his zeal, adminiſtered the oath to the legions under his command. The ceremony was performed on the calends of July, and that day was ever after celebrated as the firſt of Veſpaſian's reign, though the army in Judæa ſwore fidelity on the fifth before the nones of the ſame month, in the

the preſence of Veſpaſian himſelf. Titus was then on his way from Syria with diſpatches from Mucianus, but the impatience of the men could not brook the delay of waiting for the emperor's ſon. The whole tranſaction originated with the ſoldiers, and was hurried on with ſuch violent impetuoſity, that the buſineſs was finiſhed, without any public harangue, and even without a previous aſſembly of the legions.

LXXX. For this great revolution no arrangement was made; no time, no place was fixed; nor was it known who was to be the author of the meaſure. In this ſtate of uncertainty, while every boſom panted with hope and fear, and the motives to the revolt, with all the dangers that might enſue, kept the army in agitation, a ſmall number of ſoldiers, who mounted guard near the apartment of the general, no ſooner ſaw him coming forth from his chamber, than with one voice they ſaluted him by the title of emperor. The whole body followed their example. They preſſed forward in crowds, calling him by the name of Cæſar, ſtyling him Auguſtus, and conferring every other title of imperial grandeur. Veſpaſian balanced no longer. His fears ſubſided, and he now reſolved to purſue the road of ambition. Even in this tide of his affairs he ſtill preſerved the equal tenour of his mind, free from arrogance, and ſuch in his manners as he had always been. The new man never appeared. The change, as was natural, dazzled his imagination; but he took time to allay the hurry of his ſpirits, and then calmly addreſſed the men in the language of a ſoldier. He was heard with ſhouts of applauſe. Mucianus waited for this event. On the firſt intelligence, he declared for Veſpaſian, and the ſoldiers with alacrity took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor. That buſineſs over, Mucianus went to the theatre of Antioch, where the inhabitants were

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uſed to hold their public debates. He found a crowded meeting, and was received with acclamations.

He harangued the multitude, and his ſpeech, though in Greek, was eloquent. In that language he had acquired ſufficient facility, and he poſſeſſed, beſides, the happy art *(a)* of giving grace and dignity to whatever he uttered. He inflamed the paſſions not only of the army, but alſo of the province, by aſſerting roundly, "that "it was a fixed point with Vitellius, to quarter the German "troops in the delightful region of Syria, that, in a rich and plen- "tiful province, they might grow wanton in eaſe and luxury; "while, in exchange, the legions of Syria were to be removed "to cold encampments in Germany, there to endure the incle- "mency of the weather, and the rigours of the ſervice." The natives of the province had lived in habits of friendſhip with the legions, and, by intermarriages, had formed family connections. The ſoldiers, on their part, were naturalized in the country, and the ſtations, to which they were accuſtomed, were, by long reſidence, grown as dear to them as their native home.

LXXXI. Before the ides of July, the whole province of Syria acceded to Veſpaſian. His party was further ſtrengthened by Sohemus *(a)*, who joined the league with the whole weight of his kingdom, and alſo by Antiochus, who inherited immenſe treaſures from his anceſtors, and was of all the kings, who ſubmitted to the authority of Rome, the moſt rich and powerful. Agrippa, who was then at Rome, received private expreſſes from the eaſt, requeſting his preſence in his own country. He departed, before Vitellius had any intelligence, and by a quick navigation paſſed over into Aſia. Queen Berenice, at that time flouriſhing in the bloom of youth, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed by

the graces of her perſon, eſpouſed the intereſt of Veſpaſian, to whom, notwithſtanding his advanced age, ſhe had made herſelf agreeable by magnificent preſents. The ſeveral maritime provinces, with Aſia and Achaia, and the whole inland country between Pontus and the two Armenias, entered into the general confederacy; but from the governors of thoſe provinces no forces could be expected, as they were not, at that time, ſtrengthened by the legions ſtationed in Cappadocia. To ſettle the plan of operation, a grand council was held at Berytus *(b)*. Mucianus attended. He was accompanied by a train of officers, tribunes, and centurions, and a conſiderable body of ſoldiers, ſelected to ſwell the pomp and grandeur of the ſcene. From Judæa the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers went to the meeting, with the flower of their troops. An aſſembly, conſiſting of ſuch a numerous train of horſe and foot, and of eaſtern kings, who vied with each other in ſplendour and magnificence, preſented a ſpectacle worthy of the imperial dignity.

LXXXII. The firſt and moſt important object was to raiſe recruits, and recall the veterans to the ſervice. In all the ſtrong and fortified cities, workmen were appointed for the forging of arms, and a mint for gold and ſilver coin was eſtabliſhed at Antioch. The whole was carried on with diligence, under the direction of proper inſpectors. Veſpaſian viſited every quarter, by his preſence giving ſpirit and animation to the cauſe. He encouraged the induſtrious by the warmth of his commendations; he rouſed the inactive by his example, and ſucceeded more by gentle methods than by the rigour of authority. To the failings of his friends he was often blind, but never to their virtues. He advanced ſome to the adminiſtration of provinces, and others to the rank of ſenators; all men of diſtinguiſhed character, who roſe afterwards to eminence in the ſtate. There were others who

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owed their ſucceſs more to their good fortune, than to their merit. Mucianus in his firſt harangue made incidental mention of a donative, but in guarded terms; nor did Veſpaſian, though engaged in a civil war, grant at any time a larger bounty than had been uſual in times of profound peace. He choſe that his ſoldiers ſhould act on principles of honour, not from motives of bribery and corruption. To that firmneſs he owed the good order and regular diſcipline of his army. Ambaſſadors were ſent to the courts of Parthia and Armenia, in order to ſettle a mutual good underſtanding, that, when the legions marched forward to open the campaign, the back ſettlements ſhould not be expoſed to ſudden incurſions of the enemy. Titus was to remain in Judæa *(a)*, to complete the conqueſt of that country, while Veſpaſian made himſelf maſter of the paſſes into Ægypt. To make head againſt Vitellius, part of the army was deemed ſufficient, under the conduct of ſuch a general as Mucianus, with the additional terror of Veſpaſian's name, and the fates on his ſide ſuperior to every difficulty. Letters were diſpatched to the ſeveral armies, and the officers in command, with inſtructions to conciliate the prætorian ſoldiers, who had been diſbanded by Vitellius, and by a promiſe, that all ſhould be reſtored to their rank, to invite them once more into the ſervice.

LXXXIII. MUCIANUS, with the appearance rather of an aſſociate in the ſovereign power, than of a general officer, advanced at the head of a light-armed detachment, never lingering in the courſe of his progreſs, that delay might not be thought a ſymptom of irreſolution; and, on the other hand, not proceeding by rapid marches, that fame might fly before him, and ſpread the terror of his approach. He knew the weakneſs of his numbers, and that danger at a diſtance is always magnified. He was followed by the ſixth legion, and thirteen thouſand veterans, forming together

gether a conſiderable army. The fleet at Pontus had orders to aſſemble at Byzantium. That ſtation was thought convenient, as Mucianus had not yet determined, whether he ſhould not avoid the territory of Mæſia, and proceed in force to Dyrrhachium; while his naval armament commanded the ſeas of Italy, and, by conſequence, protected the coaſts of Achaia and Aſia againſt the attempts of Vitellius, who, in that caſe, would not only ſee Brundiſium and Tarentum in danger, but alſo the whole coaſt of Calabria and Lucania kept in a conſtant alarm.

LXXXIV. THROUGHOUT the provinces nothing was heard but the din and buſtle of warlike preparations. Soldiers were aſſembling; ſhips were preparing for ſea, and the clink of armourers reſounded in every quarter. How to raiſe ſupplies of money was the chief difficulty. Pecuniary funds, Mucianus uſed to ſay, were the ſinews of war. For this purpoſe, in all queſtions touching the ſum demanded, he regarded neither the truth nor the juſtice of the caſe. To be rich was to be liable to taxation, and money was to be raiſed in all events. Informations followed without number, and confiſcations without mercy. Oppreſſive as theſe proceedings were, the neceſſity of the times gave a colourable excuſe; but the misfortune was, the practice did not ceaſe with the war, but continued, in the ſeaſon of profound peace, to haraſs and oppreſs mankind. Veſpaſian, in the beginning of his reign, ſhewed no diſpoſition to enrich his coffers by acts of injuſtice; but, being corrupted afterwards by the ſmiles of fortune, and liſtening to pernicious counſels, he learned the arts of rapacity, and dared to practiſe them *(a)*. Mucianus, from his own funds, contributed to the exigencies of the war, generous from his private purſe, that he might afterwards indemnify himſelf at the expence of the public. The reſt of the officers,

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following his example, advanced ſums of money, but were not, in like manner, repaid with uſury.

LXXXV. VESPASIAN, in the mean time, ſaw his affairs aſſume a promiſing aſpect. The army in Illyricum went over to his intereſt. In Mæſia the third legion revolted, and drew after them the eighth, and alſo the ſeventh, called the Claudian; both devoted to Otho, though not engaged in the action at Bedriacum. Before the battle, they had advanced as far as Aquileia; and being at that place informed of a total overthrow, they aſſaulted the meſſengers who brought the news; broke to ſhivers the ſtandards that diſplayed the name of Vitellius; plundered the military cheſts; and, having divided the ſpoil, proceeded to every act of outrage and ſedition. Conſcious of that offence, and dreading the puniſhment that might follow, they conſulted together, and clearly ſaw, that what they had done required a pardon from Vitellius, but with Veſpaſian ſtood in the light of real merit. To ſtrengthen their cauſe, they ſent diſpatches to the army in Pannonia, inviting them to join the league; determined, if they did not comply, to compel them by force of arms. In this juncture, Aponius Saturninus *(a)*, governor of Mæſia, conceived the deſign of perpetrating a barbarous murder. Under colour of public zeal, but with malice feſtering at his heart, he diſpatched a centurion to murder Tertius Julianus, who commanded the ſeventh legion. That officer had timely notice. He provided himſelf with guides, who knew the courſe of the country, and eſcaped through devious tracts as far as Mount Hæmus. From that time, he took no part in the civil war. He affected often to be on the point of ſetting out to join Veſpaſian; but delayed his journey, at times ſeeming eager to depart, then doubting, heſitating, waiting for intelligence, and, during the whole war, reſolving without deciſion.

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LXXXVI. In Pannonia, the thirteenth legion, and the ſeventh, called the Galbian, embraced the intereſt of Veſpaſian. They ſtill remembered, with indignation, their defeat at Bedriacum, and the influence of Antonius Primus proved a powerful inſtigation. That officer, convicted of forgery *(a)* in the reign of Nero, remained obnoxious to the laws, till, among the evils that ſpring from civil diſſenſion, he roſe from infamy to his ſenatorian rank. He was advanced by Galba to the command of the ſeventh legion, and, according to report, offered himſelf to Otho, deſiring, by letters, the rank of general againſt his benefactor. Otho paid no attention to the propoſal, and, by conſequence, Antonius remained inactive. In the preſent juncture, ſeeing a ſtorm ready to burſt upon Vitellius, he veered round to Veſpaſian, and became the grand ſupport of the party. To his vices he united great and uſeful qualities: brave and valiant, he poſſeſſed uncommon eloquence; an artful and inſidious enemy, he had the art of involving others in danger; in popular inſurrections, a bold and turbulent leader; at once a plunderer and a prodigal; what he gained by rapine, he ſquandered in corruption; during the calm ſeaſon of peace, a pernicious citizen; in war, an officer not to be neglected.

The armies of Mæſia and Pannonia formed a junction, and drew the forces of Dalmatia into the revolt. The conſular governors of thoſe provinces were neutral on the occaſion; they took no ſhare in the buſineſs, nor did the ſoldiers wait for their direction. Titus Ampius Flavianus ruled in Pannonia, and Poppæus Silvanus in Dalmatia; both rich, and advanced in years. Cornelius Fuſcus, deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors, and then in the vigour of life, was, at the ſame time, imperial procurator. In his youth he had reſigned his ſenatorian rank, to ſeek in ſolitude a retreat from public buſineſs. Joining afterwards with

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Galba, he drew forth, in ſupport of that emperor, the ſtrength of his own colony, and for his ſervices obtained the poſt of procurator. In the preſent commotions, he declared for Veſpaſian; and, by his ardent ſpirit, gave life and vigour to the cauſe. Self-intereſt did not mix with the motives that determined his conduct. His pride was in the field of action. He gloried in facing danger, and deſpiſed the reward of merit. War was his paſſion; and, though poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, he preferred a life of enterpriſe to indolence and his own perſonal ſafety. He acted in concert with Antonius Primus, and both exerted themſelves to kindle the flame of war in every quarter. Where they ſaw a diſcontented ſpirit, they were ſure to increaſe it by infuſions of their own venom. They ſent diſpatches to the fourteenth legion in Britain, and to the firſt in Spain, knowing that both had favoured the cauſe of Otho againſt Vitellius. Their letters were ſpread all over Gaul, and, by their joint efforts, the Roman world was rouſed to arms. The forces in Illyricum declared for Veſpaſian; and in other parts, as ſoon as the firſt blow was ſtruck, the troops ſtood ready to take the field.

LXXXVII. While Veſpaſian and the leaders of his party were thus employed in concerting meaſures throughout the provinces, Vitellius, ſunk in ſloth, and growing every day more contemptible, advanced by ſlow marches towards the city of Rome. In all the villas and municipal towns through which he paſſed, carouſing feſtivals were ſufficient to retard a man abandoned to his pleaſures. He was followed by an unwieldy multitude, not leſs than ſixty thouſand men in arms, all corrupted by a life of debauchery. The number of retainers and followers of the army was ſtill greater, all diſpoſed to riot and inſolence, even beyond the natural bent of the vileſt ſlaves. To theſe muſt be added a train of officers and ſervile courtiers, too haughty

haughty to be reſtrained within due bounds, even though the chief had practiſed the ſtricteſt diſcipline. The crowd was ſtill increaſed by a conflux of ſenators and Roman knights, who came from Rome to greet the prince on his way; ſome impelled by fear, others to pay their court, and numbers, not to be thought ſullen or diſaffected. All went with the current. The populace ruſhed forth in crowds, accompanied by an infamous band of pimps, of players, buffoons, and charioteers, by their utility in vicious pleaſures all well known and dear to Vitellius. Such were the diſgraceful connections of the emperor, and he enjoyed them without a bluſh. To ſupply ſo vaſt a body with proviſions, the colonies and municipal cities were exhauſted; the fruits of the earth, then ripe and fit for uſe, were carried off; the huſbandman was plundered; and his land, as if it were an enemy's country, was laid waſte and ruined.

LXXXVIII. The fierce animoſity that broke out at Ticinum between the legions and the auxiliaries, was not yet extinguiſhed. Frequent quarrels occurred, and ended always in mutual ſlaughter. Againſt the peaſants and farmers they were ſure to be unanimous, but agreed in nothing elſe. The moſt dreadful carnage happened within ſeven miles of Rome. At that place Vitellius ordered victuals, ready dreſſed, to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers, as if he had prepared a feaſt to pamper a band of gladiators. The common people, who had come in crowds from Rome, were diſperſed through the camp. To divert themſelves with what they thought an arch and pleaſant trick, they cut away the belts of the ſoldiers, and with an air of humour aſked, Whether they were properly accoutred? The ſoldiers had no taſte for raillery. They retaliated with their weapons, and fell with fury on the defenceleſs multitude. Among the ſlain was the father of one of the ſoldiers, killed as he ſtood engaged in con-

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converſation with his ſon. The unhappy victim was ſoon known; and, by that incident, the further effuſion of blood was prevented. Rome, in the mean time, was thrown into conſternation. A number of ſoldiers entered the city in a tumultuous manner, and ruſhed forward to the forum, impatient to ſee the ſpot where Galba periſhed. Covered with the ſkins of ſavage beaſts, and wielding large and maſſy ſpears, the ſpectacle which they exhibited to the Roman citizens was fierce and hideous. Unuſed to crowded ſtreets, they had not the ſkill to conduct themſelves amidſt a vaſt concourſe of people, but with rude force puſhed againſt the paſſengers; and ſometimes ſlipping down, or, as might happen, thrown by the preſſure of the throng, they roſe haſtily to reſent what was no more than an accident, and from abuſive language proceeded ſword in hand to the moſt violent outrages. The tribunes and centurions, at the head of their troops of cavalry, paraded the ſtreets in a warlike manner, and ſpread a general panic through the city.

LXXXIX. VITELLIUS himſelf, in his military apparel, mounted on a ſuperb horſe, advanced from the Milvian bridge, while the ſenate and the people preſſed on before him to make way for their new maſter. His friends, however, remonſtrated againſt his making a public entry in a military ſtyle, like a conqueror marching into a city taken by ſtorm. He conformed to their advice, and, having put on his ſenatorian robe, made his entry in a pacific manner. His troops followed in regular order. The eagles of four legions led the way, with an equal number of ſtandards on each ſide. The colours of twelve ſquadrons of horſe were diſplayed with great pomp. The infantry followed, and after them the cavalry. The proceſſion was cloſed by four-and-thirty cohorts, diſtinguiſhed by the arms and habits of their reſpective nations. The præfects of the camp, the tribunes, and principal

principal centurions, arrayed in white, preceded their ſeveral eagles. The reſt of the officers marched at the head of their companies. The blaze of arms and rich apparel added ſplendour to the ſcene. The burniſhed collars of the common men, and the trappings of the horſes, glittered to the eye, while the whole preſented a magnificent ſpectacle, worthy of a better emperor. In this manner Vitellius proceeded to the capitol, and there embracing his mother *(a)*, ſaluted her by the name of Auguſta.

XC. On the following day, Vitellius delivered a public harangue, and ſpoke of himſelf in magnificent terms, as if he had for his audience the ſenate and people of a foreign city. He aſſumed the virtues of induſtry and temperance; never conſidering, that he was in the hearing of men, who had ſeen his vices, and that every part of Italy, through which he had paſſed, had known and felt his abandoned profligacy. The populace, as uſual, knowing neither truth nor falſehood, and indifferent about both, paid their tribute of flattery with noiſe and uproar. They preſſed him to accept the title of Auguſtus: he declined it for ſome time, but the voice of the rabble prevailed. He yielded to their importunity; but his compliance was uſeleſs, and the honour was of ſhort duration.

XCI. In a city, where ſuperſtition interpreted every thing, the firſt act of Vitellius, in the character of ſovereign pontiff, was conſidered as an omen that portended miſchief. He iſſued an edict concerning the rites and ceremonies of religion, dated the fifteenth before the calends of Auguſt, a day rendered inauſpicious by two victories formerly obtained over the armies of Rome; one at Cremera *(a)*, and the other at Allia. But Vitellius was unacquainted with the antiquities of his country. He knew nothing of laws, either human or divine. The ſame ſtupidity

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poſſeſſed his friends and his band of freedmen. The whole court ſeemed to be in a ſtate of intoxication. In the aſſemblies held for the election of conſuls *(b)*, Vitellius aſſumed nothing above the rights of a citizen. He behaved to the candidates on a footing of equality. He attended in the theatre, giving his applauſe as a common ſpectator, and in the circus, mixing with the factions of the populace. By thoſe arts he tried to gain the ſuffrages of the electors; arts, it muſt be acknowledged, often practiſed, and, when ſubſervient to honeſt purpoſes, not to be condemned. But in a man like Vitellius, whoſe former life was too well known *(c)*, the artifice ſerved only to ſink him into contempt.

He went frequently to the ſenate, even on frivolous occaſions, when the ſubject of debate was altogether unintereſting. In that aſſembly Helvidius Priſcus *(d)*, prætor elect, happened to differ from the opinion of the emperor. Vitellius took fire in the moment, but, checking himſelf in time, called upon the tribunes of the people to ſupport his authority. His friends, apprehending the conſequences of a deep and ſmothered reſentment, interpoſed with their good offices to ſoften prejudice. His anſwer was, "Nothing new has happened: two ſenators have differed in "opinion: and is not that a common occurrence? I have myſelf "often oppoſed the ſentiments of Thraſea *(e)*." The alluſion to a character ſo truly eminent provoked a ſmile of contempt. Some, however, were glad to find, that, inſtead of the men who glittered in the ſunſhine of a court, he choſe Thraſea for the model of true greatneſs.

XCII. PUBLIUS SABINUS, the præfect of a cohort, and Julius Priſcus, a centurion, were advanced from thoſe inferior ſtations to the command of the prætorian guards. The former owed his

elevation to the friendſhip of Valens, and the latter to that of Cæcina. By thoſe two miniſters, though always at variance with each other, the whole power of the ſtate was uſurped and exerciſed. The authority of the emperor was merely nominal. Valens and Cæcina tranſacted every thing. Their mutual animoſity, which had been ſuppreſſed during the war, but not extinguiſhed, broke out at Rome with redoubled violence. Their friends with officious care envenomed the minds of the rival ſtateſmen, and the various factions, that for ever diſtract the city of Rome, furniſhed every day new materials to inflame their jealouſy. They vied with each other for pre-eminence, and by intrigue, by cabal, by their train of followers, and their crowded levees, endeavoured to manifeſt their ſuperiority; while Vitellius wavered between both, and, as his inclinations ſhifted, the balance changed alternately from one to the other. Their authority exceeded all bounds, and was therefore, like all ill-gotten power, uncertain and precarious. They ſaw the caprice that marked the character of Vitellius, one moment inflamed with anger, and the next, laviſh of his favours. Neither of the miniſters could be ſure of fixing the affections of his maſter, and both deſpiſed and feared him.

Nothing, however, could ſatisfy their rapacity: they ſeized houſes, gardens, and the whole wealth of the empire; while a number of illuſtrious men, whom Galba had recalled from baniſhment, were left to languiſh in diſtreſs and poverty. Their ſituation awakened no compaſſion in the breaſt of the emperor. He reſtored them, it is true, to their rights over their freedmen; and, by that act of juſtice, not only gratified the ſenators and other grandees of the city, but alſo gained the applauſe of the populace. But even this ſhew of benignity was rendered uſeleſs by the low cunning that marks the genius of ſlavery. To evade the claims of their patrons, the freedmen concealed their wealth

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in obſcure places, or elſe depoſited it in the cuſtody of the great. Some of them contrived to inſinuate themſelves into the imperial family, and there growing into favour, looked down with pride and inſolence on their diſappointed maſters.

XCIII. The multitude of ſoldiers was ſo enormous, that the camp overflowed, and poured the redundant numbers into the city; a wild diſorderly band, who fixed their ſtation in the public porticos, and even in the temples. The men wandered about the ſtreets of Rome, ſo utterly careleſs, that they forgot where they were quartered. Having no regular place of rendezvous, and performing no kind of duty, they gave themſelves up to the diſſolute manners of the city, and the practice of vices too foul to be named. In this courſe of life, their bodily ſtrength decayed; the vigour of their minds was ſunk in ſloth, and their health entirely neglected. They choſe for their abode the moſt vile and infamous places in the neighbourhood of the Vatican *(a)*, where they contracted diſeaſes, till an epidemic diſtemper began to rage amongſt them. A dreadful mortality followed. The Gauls and Germans ſuffered moſt by their own imprudence. Infected with diſorders, inflamed with fevers, and being naturally impatient of heat, they plunged into the Tiber, which unluckily was near at hand, and took delight in cooling their limbs, which proved a remedy as bad as the diſeaſe. The confuſion, introduced by another circumſtance, proved the bane of the army. It was thought adviſable to raiſe ſixteen cohorts *(b)* for the prætorian camp, and four for the city, each to conſiſt of a thouſand men. This meaſure, by cabals among the ſoldiers, and the jealouſy ſubſiſting between the two commanding officers, was the ruin of all diſcipline. Valens arrogated to himſelf the chief direction of the buſineſs. He had relieved Cæcina and his army, and on that account claimed pre-eminence. The Vitellian party

party had certainly gained no advantage over the enemy, till the arrival of Valens gave life and vigour to the cauſe. If the ſlowneſs of his march was at firſt liable to cenſure, the victory that followed made ample atonement, and redeemed the character of the general. The ſoldiers from the Lower Germany were to a man devoted to his intereſt. It was upon this occaſion, according to the general opinion, that Cæcina firſt began to meditate the treachery, which he afterwards carried into execution.

XCIV. The indulgence ſhewn by Vitellius to his principal officers was exceeded by nothing but the licentiouſneſs of the common ſoldiers. Each man enrolled himſelf in what company he thought proper, and choſe his own ſtation in the ſervice. Some preferred the city cohorts; and, without conſidering merit or fitneſs for that employment, their wiſh was gratified. Others, who ought to have been ſelected, were ſuffered, at their own will and pleaſure, to continue in the legions or the cavalry. This was the choice of numbers, who had impaired their conſtitutions, and were therefore willing to remove from the ſultry heats of Italy to a more temperate climate. By theſe arrangements, the main ſtrength of the legions and the cavalry was drafted away. A motley body of twenty thouſand men was formed out of the whole army, without choice or judgment. The conſequence was, that the camp retained neither the ſtrength nor the beauty of military ſyſtem.

Vitellius thought fit to harangue the ſoldiers. In the midſt of his ſpeech, a clamour broke out, demanding the execution of Aſiaticus, and of Flavius, and Rufinus, who had been commanders in Gaul, and liſted on the ſide of Vindex. Nor did Vitellius endeavour to appeaſe the tumult. From his ſluggiſh temper nothing like firmneſs or authority could be expected.

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He knew that the time for diſcharging the promiſed donative was drawing near; and having no funds to anſwer the expectation of the ſoldiers, he thought it his beſt policy to atone by mean compliances for that deficiency. In order, however, to raiſe ſupplies, a tax was impoſed on all the freedmen of former emperors, to be collected in proportion to the number of their ſlaves. To ſquander with wild profuſion, was the only uſe of money known to Vitellius. He built a ſet of ſtables for the charioteers, and kept in the circus a conſtant ſpectacle of gladiators and wild beaſts; in this manner diſſipating with prodigality, as if his treaſury overflowed with riches.

XCV. CÆCINA and Valens reſolved to celebrate the birthday *(a)* of their maſter with all demonſtrations of joy. They gave a ſhow of gladiators in every quarter of the city, with a diſplay of pomp and magnificence beyond all example. Vitellius reſolved to ſolemnize the obſequies of Nero. He erected altars to that emperor in the field of Mars. The ſight was highly pleaſing to the vile and profligate, but gave diſguſt to all who had any principle, or a ſpark of remaining virtue. Victims were ſlain, fires were kindled, and the torch was carried by the Auguſtan prieſts; an order dedicated by Tiberius to the Julian family, in imitation of that conſecrated by Romulus to Tatius *(b)* the Sabine king. From the victory at Bedriacum four months had not elapſed; and yet, in that ſhort time, Aſiaticus, the manumitted ſlave of the emperor, had already accumulated riches nothing ſhort of the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and others of the ſervile race, whoſe names have been given up to the execration of mankind. The court of Vitellius was not the ſcene of honeſt emulation. No man endeavoured to riſe by his virtue or his talents. The road to preferment was open to vice and luxury. He who entertained the prince in the gayeſt manner, and with ſumptuous

ſumptuous banquets glutted that craving appetite, was ſure to be in favour. To enjoy the preſent hour, and ſeize with avidity the pleaſures near at hand, was the whole occupation of Vitellius. Future events and diſtant conſequences gave him no ſolicitude. He is ſaid to have diſſipated in a few months no leſs than nine millions of ſeſterces. Such was the ſad condition of Rome; a great yet miſerable city, obliged, in the ſpace of one year, to groan under the yoke of an Otho and a Vitellius; and ſtill worſe, to ſuffer the depredations of Vinius, Valens, Icelus, and Aſiaticus, till the people were at length transferred, like a herd of ſlaves, to Mucianus and Marcellus *(c)*. New men ſucceeded, but the meaſures were ſtill the ſame.

XCVI. The firſt intelligence of a revolt, that reached the ear of Vitellius, was that of the third legion in Illyricum. The account was ſent by Aponius Saturninus, before that officer had formed his reſolution to join Veſpaſian. His diſpatches, made up in the firſt tumult of ſurpriſe, did not ſtate the whole of the miſchief. The creatures of the court, to ſooth their maſter, endeavoured to palliate every circumſtance. They called it the ſeditious ſpirit of one legion only, while every other army preſerved unſhaken fidelity, and there was, therefore, no danger to be apprehended. Vitellius addreſſed the ſoldiers to the ſame effect. He added that the prætorians, lately diſbanded, were the authors of falſe reports, fabricated with a ſeditious intent to diſturb the public peace: but ſtill there was no reaſon to fear a civil war. He made no mention of Veſpaſian; and, to ſuppreſs all talk among the populace, a band of ſoldiers had orders to parade the ſtreets. The policy, however, did not anſwer the end. Silence was commanded, and the people talked with greater freedom.

XCVII. Diſpatches were, notwithſtanding, ſent to Germany,

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many, to Spain, and Britain, for a ſupply of men; but, as Vitellius wiſhed to conceal the urgency of his affairs, his orders were not deciſive, and, by conſequence, the governors of the provinces were in no haſte to obey. Hordeonius Flaccus *(a)*, who commanded on the banks of the Rhine, having reaſon to fear the deſigns of the Batavians, expected to have a war upon his hands *(b)*, and, therefore, thought it prudent not to diminiſh his force. In Britain, Vectius Bolanus was kept in a conſtant alarm by the reſtleſs genius of the natives. At the ſame time, thoſe two officers began to balance between Vitellius and Veſpaſian. Spain ſhewed no alacrity. That country, left without a governor of proconſular authority, was under the direction of three commanders of legions, all equal in rank, and all willing, as long as Vitellius flouriſhed in proſperity, to hold their employments under him, but in the day of diſtreſs ready to abandon his cauſe. Affairs in Africa wore a better aſpect. The legion and the cohorts, which had been raiſed in that country by Clodius Macer, and diſbanded by Galba, were again embodied by order of Vitellius, and the young men of the nation went in crowds to be enrolled in the ſervice. The fact was, Vitellius and Veſpaſian had been proconſuls in Africa; the former governed with moderation, and was remembered with gratitude; the latter incurred the hatred of the people *(c)*. From paſt tranſactions, the province and the allies in the neighbourhood formed their idea of what they had to expect under the reign of either of them: but the event convinced them of their error.

XCVIII. The exertions in Africa were at firſt carried on with vigour. Valerius Feſtus, the governor of the province, co-operated with the zeal of the people, but in a ſhort time began to waver between the contending parties. In his letters and public edicts he ſtood firm for Vitellius; his ſecret correſpondence favoured

favoured Veſpaſian, and, by this duplicity, he hoped, in the end, to make terms for himſelf with the conqueror. In Rhætia and the adjacent parts of Gaul, certain emiſſaries, employed by Veſpaſian's friends, were ſeized with letters and proclamations in their poſſeſſion. They were ſent to Vitellius, and by his order put to death. Others, by their own addreſs, or the protection of their friends, eſcaped detection. The conſequence was, that the meaſures adopted by Vitellius were known to the oppoſite party, while thoſe of Veſpaſian remained an impenetrable ſecret. The ſtupidity of Vitellius gave the enemy this advantage in the outſet. Afterwards, when the paſſes over the Pannonian Alps *(a)* were ſecured by a chain of poſts, all intelligence by land was entirely cut off, and by ſea, the Eteſian winds, that favoured the navigation to the eaſt, were adverſe to the homeward voyage.

XCIX. VITELLIUS, finding that the advanced parties of the enemy had made an irruption into Italy, and news big with danger arriving from every quarter, gave orders to his generals to take the field without delay. Cæcina undertook the command, while Valens, who was juſt riſen from a ſick bed, remained at Rome for the recovery of his health. The German forces, marching out of the city, exhibited an appearance very different from the ferocity of their firſt approach. Their ſtrength waſted; their vigour of mind depreſſed; their numbers thinned; their horſes ſlow and lifeleſs; their arms an incumbrance; and the men, drooping under the heat of the ſeaſon, overpowered by the duſt, and unable to endure the weather, preſented to all, who beheld their march, a languid, ſpiritleſs, and dejected army; averſe from labour, and, for that reaſon, ready to revolt.

The character of Cæcina muſt be taken into the account. Ambition was his ruling paſſion: ſloth and indolence, the effect

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of ſucceſs and luxury, were vices newly contracted; or, perhaps meditating even then a ſtroke of perfidy, it was part of his plan to countenance whatever tended to impair the vigour of the army. The revolt of this commander has been aſcribed by various writers to Flavius Sabinus, who had the addreſs, by the means of Rubrius Gallus, his intermediate agent, to ſeduce Cæcina to the intereſt of his brother, under poſitive aſſurances that the terms ſtipulated between them would be ratified by Veſpaſian. The jealouſy ſubſiſting between Cæcina and Valens, had its effect on the mind of an aſpiring chief, who ſaw his rival in the higheſt credit with Vitellius, and was, therefore, eaſily perſuaded to merit the protection of a new prince.

C. CÆCINA took leave of Vitellius, and received at parting the higheſt marks of diſtinction. He ſent forward a detachment of the cavalry to take poſſeſſion of Cremona. The veterans of the fourteenth *(a)* and ſixteenth legions followed, and after them the fifth and twenty-ſecond. The rear was cloſed by the twenty-firſt, diſtinguiſhed by the name of RAPAX, and the firſt legion, called the ITALIC, with the vexillaries of three Britiſh legions, and the flower of the auxiliary forces. Cæcina was no ſooner ſet out on his expedition, than Valens ſent directions to the army, which he had conducted into Italy, to wait for his arrival, according to the plan which, he ſaid, was ſettled between himſelf and Cæcina. But the latter, being on the ſpot, and, by conſequence, having greater weight and influence, aſſured the men that, upon mature deliberation, that whole plan had been altered, to the end that they might meet the firſt impreſſion of the enemy with the united vigour of the army. Having thus ſecured in his own hands the whole command, he ordered the legions to proceed by rapid marches to Cremona, while a large detachment went forward to Hoſtilia *(b)*. He himſelf

turned off towards Ravenna, under a pretence of conferring with the officers of the fleet, but, in fact, with a design to make the best of his way to the city of Pavia, judging that place the fittest for a treasonable convention. He there met Lucilius Bassus *(c)*, a man, who, from a squadron of horse, had been raised by Vitellius to the command of two fleets, one at Ravenna, and the other at Misenum. Not content with that sudden rise, he thought himself entitled to be made præfect of the prætorian guards. That disappointment he considered as an injury, and therefore resolved to gratify his unjust resentment by a stroke of perfidy. For this purpose he joined Cæcina. Which seduced the other cannot now be known. Two evil minds might form the same black design, and having formed it, they would find in congenial qualities a secret impulse to each other.

CI. In the memoirs of various authors who composed their work during the reign of the Flavian family *(a)*, we are told that Cæcina acted on the most upright principles, with a view to the public tranquillity, and the good of his country. But this seems to be the language of flattery to the reigning prince. The conduct of Cæcina may be fairly traced to other motives. The natural inconstancy of the man, and, after his treachery to Galba, the confirmed habit of betraying without a blush, would be sufficient to remove all doubt, if we had not to add to the account his disappointed ambition, and the corrosions of envy, with which he saw himself eclipsed by the superior genius of his rival. Rather than be supplanted by others in the esteem of Vitellius, the ruin of that emperor was his remedy.

Having settled his plan of operations with Bassus, Cæcina once more put himself at the head of the legions, and by various artifices began to undermine the interest of Vitellius, and wean

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the centurions and ſoldiers from all affection for his perſon. Baſſus, on his part, was equally active, and met with little difficulty. The officers and men belonging to the fleet remembered that they had lately diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the cauſe of Otho, and were therefore ready to declare againſt the enemy who had triumphed over him.

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OF

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BOOK III.

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Theſe tranſactions paſſed in a few months.

Year of Rome	— of Chriſt	Conſuls for a ſhort time.
822	69	*Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina.*
		Roſius Regulus, Cæcilius Simplex, Quinctius Atticus.

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I. MEANWHILE, the leaders of Veſpaſian's party, acting in concert, and with ſtrict fidelity, laid the plan of their operations with better ſucceſs. They met at Pætovio *(a)*, the winter quarters of the thirteenth legion, and there held a council of war. The queſtion on which they deliberated was, which was moſt adviſable, to ſecure the paſſes over the Pannonian Alps, and there make halt, till the forces behind came up to their ſupport, or to puſh forward with vigour, and penetrate at once into Italy. Some propoſed dilatory meaſures, in order to purſue the campaign with their united force. They founded their opinion on the following reaſons. "The fame and valour of the German "legions were greatly to be dreaded. Vitellius had been rein-

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" forced by the flower of the army in Britain. The legions on " the ſide of Veſpaſian were inferior in number, and had been " lately conquered. They talked, indeed, with ferocity; but the " minds of the vanquiſhed are always depreſſed. If the Alps were " guarded by a chain of poſts, Mucianus would have time to come " up with the ſtrength of the eaſt, and Veſpaſian, in the mean " time, would remain maſter of the ſeas. He had powerful fleets, " and the provinces eſpouſed his cauſe. With theſe reſources he " might, if neceſſary, prepare his meaſures for a ſecond war. The " advantages, therefore, which might ariſe from delay, were ſuf- " ficiently evident; new ſuccours would arrive, and their preſent " force, in the mean time, would not be expoſed to the chance " of war."

II. THIS reaſoning was oppoſed by Antonius Primus, the grand promoter of the confederacy. " Activity," he ſaid, " will give " every advantage to Veſpaſian, and prove the ruin of Vitellius and " his party. The conquerors have gained nothing by their vic- " tory; on the contrary, their vigour is melted down in ſloth and " luxury. They are neither enured to a regular camp, nor trained " to arms, nor kept in exerciſe by military duty. Diſperſed " through the municipal towns of Italy, they have loſt their " martial ſpirit, and now are ſoldiers to their landlords only. Their " taſte of pleaſure is a new acquirement, and they enjoy it with " the ſame ſpirit that formerly incited them to the moſt ferocious " deeds. The circus, the theatre, and the delights of Rome have " ſunk their vigour, and diſeaſe has rendered them unfit for mili- " tary duty. Allow them time, and they will recruit their " ſtrength. The very idea of war will animate their drooping " courage. Their reſources are great; Germany is near at hand, " and from that hive new ſwarms may iſſue forth; Britain is " ſeparated by a narrow channel; Spain and Gaul lie contiguous,

" and

" and from both they may draw ſupplies of men, and horſes, and
" money. All Italy is theirs, and the wealth of Rome is at their
" mercy. Should they reſolve to wage a diſtant war, they have
" two fleets, and the Illyrian ſea lies open to their operations.
" In that caſe, what will be the uſe of poſts and ſtations on the
" Pannonian Alps? and what the advantage of drawing the war
" into length? Wait for another campaign; and where, in the
" mean time, are we to find ſupplies of money and proviſions?
" To act with vigour is our beſt, our only expedient. The legi-
" ons of Pannonia were ſurpriſed, not conquered: they are now
" breathing revenge; they wiſh for nothing ſo much as an oppor-
" tunity to ſignalize their valour in the field. The forces of
" Mæſia *(a)* have neither waſted their ſtrength, nor have they
" been humbled by a defeat. If the ſtrength on both ſides is to
" be eſtimated by the number of the men, and not of the legions,
" the ſuperiority is on the ſide of Veſpaſian. In his army no
" corruption, no licentiouſneſs. Even former misfortunes are
" now of uſe; the men have ſeen their error, and the ſenſe of
" ſhame has eſtabliſhed diſcipline and good order. In the laſt
" action the cavalry ſuffered no diſgrace: on the contrary, though
" the event of the day was adverſe, they broke through the ranks
" of the enemy. And if two ſquadrons of horſe, one from Pan-
" nonia, and the other from Mæſia, could bear down all before
" them, what may not be expected from the joint force of ſix-
" teen ſquadrons, whoſe banners glitter in the ſervice of Veſpa-
" ſian? Their impetuoſity in the firſt onſet, their uproar, the
" clangor of their arms, and the clouds of duſt raiſed by their
" horſes hoofs, will confound, diſtract, and overwhelm a feeble
" enemy, who have loſt their warlike ſpirit. What I adviſe, I
" am willing to execute. Thoſe, who have not taken a decided
" reſolution, may, if they will, remain behind. Let them detain
" their legions. Give me the light-armed cohorts: I aſk no
" more.

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"more. With thoſe gallant ſoldiers my intention is to force a "paſſage into Italy. The Vitellians will ſhrink from the attack; "and when you hear the tidings, you will then purſue the foot- "ſteps of Antonius, glad to follow where victory leads the "way."

III. SUCH was the reaſoning of this active partiſan. He delivered the whole with a ſpirit, that convinced the prudent, and rouſed the timorous. His eyes flaſhed fire; his voice expanded, that the centurions and ſoldiers, who had preſſed into the council-room, might hear the ſentiments of a brave and experienced officer. All were carried away by a torrent of eloquence. The crowd extolled his courage, and deſpiſed the other officers for their want of ſpirit. He, and he alone, was the man of enterpriſe, the general worthy of the command. In a former council of war, where Veſpaſian's letters were read to the whole meeting, Antonius had announced his character, and made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the ſoldiers. Upon that occaſion, he entered with warmth into the debate, diſdaining the little policy of uſing equivocal terms, which might afterwards receive the conſtruction that ſuited the views of the ſpeaker. Intrepid and deciſive, he laid himſelf open at once. He ſpoke with that frank and generous ardour, which is always ſure to captivate the affections of the army. The ſoldiers admired a general, whom they ſaw ready to ſhare every danger, and to be their partner in the raſhneſs or the glory of the enterpriſe.

IV. THE perſon, who, in the opinion of the common men, filled the ſecond place, was Cornelius Fuſcus, the procurator of the province. That officer, by his freedom of ſpeech, had already pledged himſelf to the cauſe: if it miſcarried, his bold and forward cenſure of Vitellius left him no room to retreat. Titus Ampius Flavianus

Flavianus ſtood in a very different light. His natural ſlowneſs, rendered ſtill more languid by the increaſe of years, drew upon him the ſuſpicion of the ſoldiers, who knew that he was *(a)* allied to Vitellius. In the beginning of the preſent commotions, he fled from his poſt, to avoid the ſtorm then gathering round him, and, ſhortly afterwards, returned to the province, with intent, as was generally imagined, to execute ſome treacherous deſign. He had made his eſcape into Italy; but when he heard that the legions were in motion, he returned to Pannonia, and reſumed his authority, fond of innovation, and willing to hazard himſelf in the troubles of a civil war. To this laſt ſtep he was incited by the advice of Cornelius Fuſcus, who wiſhed to ſee him in Pannonia; not with a view of deriving advantage from his talents, but becauſe the name of a conſular officer was of moment, and, in the firſt efforts of a party not yet eſtabliſhed, a perſon of that rank might give credit and luſtre to the cauſe.

V. The march into Italy being the meaſure adopted, in order to ſecure the paſſes over the mountains, letters were ſent to Aponius Saturninus *(a)*, ordering him to advance by rapid marches with his army from Mæſia. At the ſame time, that the provinces, thus evacuated, might not lie open to the incurſions of Barbarians on the borders, the chiefs of the Iazyges *(b)*, a people of Sarmatia, were engaged to co-operate with the Roman army. The new allies offered to bring into the field a body of the natives, and alſo their cavalry, in which conſiſts the ſtrength of the country. Their ſervice, however, was not accepted, leſt a number of foreign mercenaries ſhould take advantage of the diſtractions that convulſed the empire, or for better pay deſert to the oppoſite party. The Suevian nation had, at all times, given proof of their ſteady attachment to the intereſt of Rome; and no doubt being entertained of their fidelity, their two kings,

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Sido and Italicus *(c)*, were admitted into the league. On the confines of Rhætia, where Portius Septimius, the procurator of the province, remained firm to Vitellius, a range of posts was stationed to bridle that part of the country. With this view Sextilius Felix was sent forward, at the head of a squadron of horse called AURIANA *(d)*, eight cohorts, and the militia of Noricum, with orders to line the banks of the river Ænus *(e)*, which divides Rhætia from Noricum. Those two commanders were content to act on the defensive, and no engagement followed. The fate of empire was elsewhere decided.

VI. ANTONIUS PRIMUS began his march, at the head of a body of vexillaries drafted from the cohorts, and a detachment of the cavalry. He pushed forward with eager speed to the invasion of Italy, accompanied by Arrius Varus, an officer of distinguished valour, who had served under Corbulo *(a)* in Armenia, and from the talents and brilliant success of that applauded commander, derived all his reputation. In secret cabals with Nero he is said to have whispered away the character of his general, converting into crimes the eminent virtues of that great officer. He rose to the rank of principal centurion; but his sudden advancement, obtained as it was by treacherous arts, proved his ruin in the end. Antonius, in conjunction with this commander, took possession of Aquileia. The adjacent towns submitted with alacrity. At Opitergium *(b)* and Altinum they were received with demonstrations of joy. At the last of those places a garrison was left to check the operations of the fleet stationed at Ravenna, which was not then known to have revolted. The cities of Patavium and Ateste *(c)* made a voluntary surrender. The two generals received intelligence that three Vitellian cohorts, with the squadron of horse called Scriboniana, had taken post at Forum Allienum *(d)*, and, after throwing up a bridge,

a bridge, loitered away the time in careleſs ſecurity. The opportunity ſeemed fair to attack them by ſurpriſe. At the dawn of day the place was taken by ſtorm, before the enemy had time to get under arms. It had been previouſly iſſued out in orders, that, after a moderate ſlaughter, the aſſailants ſhould give quarter to the reſt, and by the terror of their arms force them to join Veſpaſian's party. Numbers ſurrendered at diſcretion; but the greater part broke down the bridge, and ſaved themſelves by flight.

VII. THE fame of a victory, obtained in the beginning of the war, made an impreſſion favourable to Veſpaſian's cauſe. In a ſhort time after, two legions, namely, the ſeventh, called GALBIANA, and the thirteenth, named GEMINA *(a)*, under the command of Vedius Aquila, arrived at Padua. A few days were ſpent at that place to refreſh the men. In that interval, Minucius Juſtus, præfect of the camp to the ſeventh legion, enforcing his orders with more ſeverity than was conſiſtent with the nature of a civil war, provoked the fury of the ſoldiers. He was ordered to join Veſpaſian, and by that artifice he ſaved his life. Antonius, at this time, had the judgment to do a public act, which had been long deſired, and, by conſequence, gave univerſal ſatisfaction. He ordered the ſtatues of Galba, which the rage of civil diſcord had levelled to the ground, to be again ſet up in all the municipal towns. By doing honour to the memory of Galba *(b)*, and reviving the hopes of a ruined party, Antonius had no doubt but he ſhould greatly ſerve the cauſe in which he was embarked.

VIII. WHERE to fix the ſeat of war was now a queſtion of moment. Verona was thought the moſt eligible ſpot. In that open champaign country *(a)*, the cavalry, in which the ſtrength

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of the army conſiſted, would have ample ſpace; and the glory of wreſting out of the hands of Vitellius a colony ſo ſtrong and flouriſhing, would draw after it the greateſt advantages. The army puſhed forward with rapidity, and, in their march, became maſters of Vicetia *(b)*; a city in itſelf of ſmall importance, but being the birth-place of Cæcina, the acquiſition was deemed a triumph over the adverſe general. The reduction of Verona brought an acceſſion of wealth, and gave an example to other cities. Moreover, as it lies between Rhætia and the Julian Alps *(c)*, it was a poſt of importance, where an army in force might command the paſs into Italy, and render it impervious to the German armies. Of theſe operations Veſpaſian had no knowledge; on the contrary, his orders were, that the troops ſhould halt at Aquileia, and puſh the war no further till Mucianus arrived with all his force. Veſpaſian explained the motives that determined his councils. While he was maſter of Ægypt, the granary of Italy *(d)*, and commanded, beſides, the revenues of the moſt opulent provinces, the Vitellian army, for want of pay and proviſions, might be forced to capitulate. Mucianus, in all his letters, recommended the ſame meaſure; adding, that a victory obtained without blood, and without cauſing a tear to be ſhed, would be the trueſt glory. But thoſe reaſons were ſpecious, and oſtenſible only: avarice of fame was his motive; he wiſhed to engroſs the whole honour of the war. But the fact was, Veſpaſian and his general planned their operations in a diſtant part of the world, and, before their orders could arrive, the blow was ſtruck.

IX. ANTONIUS was not of a temper to remain inactive. He reſolved to attempt the ſtations of the enemy. His attack was ſudden; and, after trying in a ſlight engagement the ſtrength and diſpoſition of the Vitellians, he thought proper to deſiſt. Both

parties retired with equal ſucceſs. In a ſhort time afterwards Cæcina pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Verona, between the village of Hoſtilia *(a)* and the moraſs on the banks of the river Tartarus *(b)*. This poſt afforded him every advantage: he had the river in his rear, and the fens on each flank. He wanted nothing but fidelity. Beyond all queſtion he had it in his power, with the whole ſtrength of his army, to cruſh two legions under Antonius, who had not yet been joined by the Mæſian army, or, at leaſt, he might have forced them by a ſhameful flight to evacuate Italy. But he trifled away the time with ſpecious delays, and, loſing all his opportunities, treacherouſly ſacrificed the moſt precious moments of the war. He carried on a correſpondence with Antonius, content by his letters to debate with a man, whom he ought to have conquered. He continued to temporiſe, till by ſecret negociations he ſettled the price of perfidy.

During this ſuſpenſe, Aponius Saturninus arrived at Verona with the ſeventh legion, called the CLAUDIAN, under the command of Vipſtanius Meſſala, then in the rank of tribune; a man of illuſtrious birth, and of a character worthy of his anceſtors: of all who entered into that war, the only perſon who carried with him fair and honourable motives. With this reinforcement the army amounted to no more than three legions; and yet to that inferior force *(c)* Cæcina thought proper to diſpatch a letter, condemning the raſhneſs of men, who, after their late defeat, preſumed again to try the fortune of the field. He extolled the bravery of the German ſoldiers, making the ſlighteſt mention of Vitellius, but with regard to Veſpaſian not hazarding one diſreſpectful word. Nor was there in the whole tenour of his letter a ſingle expreſſion that tended either to impreſs the enemy with fear, or to induce them to revolt. Veſpaſian's generals

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returned an anſwer in a ſtyle of magnanimity. They entered into no defence of their former conduct; they beſtowed the higheſt praiſe on Veſpaſian: relying on the goodneſs of their cauſe, they ſpoke with confidence of the event, and, without reſerve, declaimed againſt Vitellius in the ſtyle of men who had nothing to fear. To the tribunes and centurions, who had been rewarded by Vitellius, they promiſed a continuance of the ſame favours, and, in explicit terms, invited Cæcina to join their party. The letters of that officer, and the ſeveral anſwers, were read, by order of Antonius, in the hearing of the army. The ſoldiers obſerved the caution with which Cæcina ſpoke of Veſpaſian, and the undiſguiſed contempt of Vitellius expreſſed by the Flavian generals. From that circumſtance they derived new alacrity, and thorough confidence in their cauſe.

X. ANTONIUS, reinforced by the arrival of two legions, namely, the third, commanded by Dillius Aponianus, and the eighth, by Numiſius Lupus, reſolved to make a diſplay of his ſtrength, and incloſe Verona with lines of circumvallation. An accident interrupted the progreſs of the works. It happened that the Galbian legion was employed in an advanced part of the trenches, fronting the enemy. They perceived at a diſtance a body of cavalry, and, though in fact they were friends, miſtook them for a party of the Vitellians. Thinking themſelves betrayed, they ſeized their arms, and, in the hurry of ſurpriſe, charged Ampius Flavianus *(a)* as the author of the plot. They had no kind of proof; but they hated the man, and hatred was ſufficient evidence of his guilt. They roared and clamoured for his blood; and nothing leſs, they ſaid, would ſatisfy their indignation. He was the kinſman of Vitellius, the betrayer of Otho, and he had embezzled the donative intended for the ſoldiers. Theſe reproaches were loud and violent. Flavianus endeavoured

to

to obtain a hearing; he ſtretched forth his hands; he proſtrated himſelf before them, rent his garments, beat his breaſt, and with tears and groans endeavoured to mitigate reſentment. The men deſpiſed him in that abject condition, and from his diſtreſs inferred a confeſſion of guilt.

Aponius Saturninus attempted to ſpeak, but was overpowered by a general clamour. The reſt of the officers were ſilenced in like manner. Antonius was the only perſon who could make himſelf heard. To his authority and eloquence he united the art of managing the temper of the ſoldiers. Their rage, however, did not ſubſide: from foul abuſe they proceeded to violence, and even began to brandiſh their weapons. The general ordered Flavianus to be ſeized and loaded with irons. This was underſtood to be no more than a ſubterfuge to elude the vengeance of the ſoldiers, who ruſhed to the tribunal, and, having diſperſed the guards, threatened immediate execution. Antonius oppoſed his boſom to their fury, and, drawing his ſword, declared aloud that he would fall by their weapons or his own. He looked around, invoking the aſſiſtance of all, whom he either knew, or ſaw diſtinguiſhed by any kind of military decoration; he directed his eyes to the eagles and ſtandards, thoſe gods of the camp, and in a pathetic ſtrain implored them to transfuſe that frantic ſpirit into the breaſts of the enemy *(b)*. At length the ſedition began to abate, and day cloſing apace, the men withdrew to their tents. In the courſe of the night, Flavianus left the camp. He had not travelled far, when he received letters *(c)* from Veſpaſian, in a ſtyle that left him no room to fear the diſpleaſure of the prince.

XI. The phrenſy of the ſoldiers did not ſtop here. It ſpread as it were by contagion, and fell with violence on Aponius Saturninus,

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ninus, who had brought with him the Mæſian forces. A letter to Vitellius had been intercepted, and he was ſuppoſed to be the author. The ſtory was believed, and all were fired with reſentment. The tumult did not, as before, begin when the ſoldiers were fatigued with the labours of the day; it broke out at noon, when they were in full vigour, and for that reaſon more to be dreaded. How unlike the ſpirit of ancient times! Under the old republic, a generous emulation in virtue and heroic valour was the only ſtruggle in a Roman camp: but now to be the foremoſt in ſedition was the grand effort of a depraved and licentious ſoldiery. The fury that ſhewed itſelf againſt Flavianus was inflamed to madneſs againſt Saturninus. The Mæſian legions made it a merit with the Pannonian army, that, in the late inſurrection, they had lent their aſſiſtance; and, in return, the Pannonians joined their friends, willing to encourage a mutiny, by which they hoped that their own guilt would be juſtified, or at leaſt excuſed. With this ſpirit all were ready to repeat their crime. They ruſhed to the gardens, where Saturninus was walking for recreation. Antonius oppoſed the mutineers; Meſſala and Aponianus exerted their beſt endeavours, but without effect. If Saturninus had not luckily found a lurking-place, in the furnace of a bath not then in uſe, there is no doubt but he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice. As ſoon as an opportunity offered, he diſmiſſed his lictors, and made the beſt of his way to Padua. There being now no officer of conſular rank left with the army, the whole command devolved upon Antonius. The ſoldiers were willing to ſubmit to his authority. The other officers declined all competition. But if the general did not, by ſecret practices, excite the two ſeditions, that he alone might gain the honour of the war without a rival, the ſuſpicion, which numbers entertained, was injurious to his character.

XII. DURING

XII. During theſe tranſactions, the camp of Vitellius was not free from diſturbance. The diſcord there did not originate from ſuſpicions entertained by the ſoldiers, but had its ſource in the perfidy of the general officers. Lucilius Baſſus *(a)*, who commanded the fleet at Ravenna, had already drawn over to his party a number of the marines, all natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, and, thoſe provinces having all already declared for Veſpaſian, ready to follow the example of their countrymen. The dead of night was choſen as the fit time for carrying their treaſonable deſigns into execution. At that hour, when all was huſhed in ſleep, the conſpirators agreed to meet in the quarter where the colours were depoſited. Baſſus remained in his own houſe, conſcious of his treachery, or, perhaps, alarmed for himſelf, and willing to wait the iſſue. The maſters of the galleys began the revolt. They ſeized the images of Vitellius, and put to the ſword all who attempted to reſiſt. The common herd, with their uſual love of innovation, went over to Veſpaſian. Baſſus, in that moment, ventured to appear, avowing himſelf the author of the treaſon. The fleet immediately choſe another commander. Cornelius Fuſcus was the perſon appointed. That officer ſoon appeared at Ravenna, and took upon him his new commiſſion. By his order, Baſſus, under a proper guard, but honourably treated, was obliged to embark for Atria *(b)*. At that place, he was thrown into fetters by Mennius Rufinus, who commanded the garriſon; but he was ſoon releaſed at the deſire of Hormus, one of Veſpaſian's freedmen, who, it ſeems, had the preſumption to figure away among the general officers.

XIII. The defection of the fleet was no ſooner known, than Cæcina, having removed out of the way the beſt part of his army under various pretexts of military duty, called a meeting of the principal centurions, and a ſelect party of ſoldiers, in the place

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place aſſigned for the eagles *(a)*, the moſt private part of the camp. He there opened his mind without reſerve. He expatiated in praiſe of Veſpaſian, and painted forth in glaring colours the ſtrength of the combination formed in his favour. The fleet, he ſaid, had revolted, and, by conſequence, Italy would be diſtreſſed for proviſions. Spain and both the Gauls were up in arms; at Rome the minds of men were wavering, and a ſtorm was ready to burſt upon Vitellius. The men, whom Antonius had engaged in the plot, threw off the maſk, and the reſt, incited by their example, took the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian. The images of Vitellius were torn from the enſigns, and diſpatches were ſent off with intelligence to the adverſe army. This tranſaction was no ſooner known in Cæcina's camp, than the reſt of the ſoldiers ruſhed in a body to the quarter of the eagles and ſtandards. They ſaw the name of Veſpaſian diſplayed to view, and the images of Vitellius ſcattered about in fragments. A deep and ſullen ſilence followed. A general uproar ſoon broke out, and with one voice the men exclaimed, "Where is now the "glory of the German armies? Without hazarding a battle, and "without a wound, we muſt lay down our arms, and deliver "ourſelves to the enemy bound in chains. And to what enemy? "To the legions lately vanquiſhed by ſuperior valour; nay, to "a part of thoſe legions; for the ſtrength and bulwark of Otho's "forces, the firſt and fourteenth, are not with the army. And "is this the iſſue of our fame in arms, and of our late glorious "victory? Did ſo many brave and gallant ſoldiers diſtinguiſh "themſelves by their bravery in the field, that they might now, "like a drove of ſlaves, be delivered up to Antonius, a man "formerly baniſhed for his crimes *(b)*? The fleet, we are told, "has revolted: and ſhall eight legions be tranſferred as an ap-"pendage to their treachery? Baſſus, it ſeems, will have it ſo; "and ſuch is the pleaſure of Cæcina. They have deſpoiled the

"prince

" prince of his houſes, his gardens, and his treaſure, and they " want now to rob him of his ſoldiers; of ſoldiers, who, with " ſwords in their hands, and in full poſſeſſion of their ſtrength " and vigour, are to yield without an engagement, and bear " the ſcorn and mockery of Veſpaſian and his party. To ſuch " as may hereafter deſire an account of the battles we have " fought, and the dangers which we have encountered, what an- " ſwer ſhall we make?"

XIV. SUCH were the complaints, and ſuch the language, not of individuals only, but of the whole body. Each man ſpoke his feelings, and all concurred in one general uproar. The fifth legion took the lead; they reſtored the images of Vitellius; they ſeized Cæcina, and loaded him with fetters. Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion, and Caſſius Longus, the præfect of the camp, were declared commanders in chief. A party of marines belonging to three light galleys fell into the hands of the enraged ſoldiery, and, though ignorant of all that paſſed, and innocent of the late defection, were to a man put to the ſword. After this exploit, the diſcontented troops broke up their camp, and, having demoliſhed the bridge, marched back to Hoſtilia, and thence to Cremona, where the firſt legion, called ITALICA, and the one-and-twentieth, known by the name of RAPAX, had been ſtationed by Cæcina.

XV. APPRISED of theſe tranſactions, Antonius reſolved, while the enemy was ſtill diſtracted, and diſperſed at different ſtations, not to let the war languiſh till the Vitellians began to act with unanimity, and the generals recovered their authority. He knew that Valens had ſet out from Rome, and Cæcina's treachery, he had reaſon to think, would make him puſh forward with expedition to join the army. The zeal of Valens for the cauſe in

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which he embarked, was ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed, and he was known to be an officer of experience. Beſides this, a large body of Germans was expected to force their way through Rhætia into Italy, and Vitellius had ſent for ſuccours into Britain, Gaul, and Spain; a formidable preparation, if Antonius had not determined to ſtrike a deciſive blow. He moved with his whole army from Verona, and in two days arrived at Bedriacum. On the following morning, he ſet the legions to work at the entrenchments, and, under colour of foraging, but in truth to give the men a reliſh for plunder, ſent the auxiliary cohorts to ravage the plains near Cremona. To ſupport them in this expedition, he himſelf, at the head of four thouſand horſe, advanced eight miles beyond Bedriacum; while his ſcouts took a wider range, to diſcover the motions of the enemy.

XVI. About the fifth hour of the day, a ſoldier, at full ſpeed, brought intelligence that the enemy was approaching. He had ſeen their advanced parties, and diſtinctly heard the buſtle of the whole army. Antonius began to prepare for action. While he was deliberating, Arrius Varus, eager to diſtinguiſh himſelf, advanced at the head of a party of horſe, and put the front line of the Vitellians to the rout. The ſlaughter was inconſiderable. A party of the enemy advanced to ſupport the broken ranks, and changed the fortune of the field. Varus and his men were obliged to give ground, and they, who had purſued with eagerneſs, were now in the rear of the retreat. In this raſh action Antonius had no ſhare. He foreſaw the conſequence, and now exerted himſelf to prevent further miſchief. Having exhorted his men, he ordered the cavalry to open their ranks, and draw off in two diviſions towards the flanks of the army, in order to leave a void ſpace for the reception of Varus and his routed party. The legions were called out, and, in the country

country round, the ſignal was given to the foraging cohorts to abandon their booty, and repair forthwith to the field of battle. Varus, in the mean time, returned to the main body, covered with diſmay, and by his appearance diffuſing terror through the ranks. He and his men had retreated with precipitation; the able and the wounded in one promiſcuous panic fled before the enemy, all in wild confuſion, and, on a narrow cauſey, obſtructing one another.

XVII. ANTONIUS, in this preſſing exigence, omitted nothing that could be expected from a commander of experience and undaunted valour. He rallied the broken ranks; where the men were giving way, by his preſence he revived their drooping courage; wherever there was either danger, or an advantage to be taken, he was ready on the ſpot, with his directions, with his voice, with his ſword, inſpiring courage, conſpicuous in every part of the field, and manifeſt to the enemy. His courage roſe to the higheſt pitch, and tranſported him beyond himſelf. In a noble fit of martial ardour he transfixed with his ſpear a ſtandard-bearer in the act of flying, and, inſtantly ſeizing the colours, advanced againſt the enemy. This bold exertion had its effect. A party of the cavalry, in number about a hundred, felt the diſgrace of deſerting their general, and returned to the charge. The nature of the ground favoured Antonius. The cauſey was narroweſt in that part, and the bridge over the river *(a)* that flowed in the rear, being broken down, the men could not purſue their flight where the banks were ſteep, and the fordable places were unknown. By this reſtraint, or by ſome turn of fortune, the battle was reſtored. The ſoldiers made a ſtand, and, having recovered their ranks, received the Vitellians, who ruſhed on with eagerneſs, but without order, and in a ſhort time were put to the rout. Antonius preſſed on the rear of ſuch as fled,

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and all who reſiſted died on the ſpot. The reſt of Veſpaſian's army acted as the impulſe of individuals prompted; they ſecured their priſoners, they ſeized the arms and horſes of the ſlain, and made the field reſound with ſhouts of victory. The runaways, who had diſperſed themſelves in various quarters, heard the joyful acclamations of their comrades, and, to claim part of the glory, hurried back to the ſcene of action.

XVIII. At the diſtance of four miles from Cremona, the banners of the two legions called RAPAX *(a)* and ITALICA appeared in view. The advantage gained by the Vitellian cavalry, in the beginning of the day, was their motive for advancing ſo far; but ſeeing a reverſe of fortune, they neither opened their ranks to receive their flying friends, nor dared to attack an enemy at that time well nigh exhauſted by the labours of the day. In the hour of proſperity they deſpiſed their general officers, and in their diſtreſs began to feel that they wanted an able commander. While they ſtood at gaze, irreſolute, and covered with conſternation, the cavalry of Antonius attacked them with impetuous fury. Vipſtanius Meſſala followed to ſupport the ranks, at the head of the Mæſian auxiliaries, who, though they had made a long march, were ſo well inured to diſcipline, that they were deemed nothing inferior to the legionary ſoldiers. The foot and cavalry, acting with united vigour, bore down all oppoſition. The Vitellians hoped to find within the walls of Cremona a ſafe ſhelter from the rage of a purſuing enemy, and for that reaſon were leſs inclined to maintain the conflict.

XIX. ANTONIUS did not think it prudent to purſue his advantage: he was content to remain maſter of the field. The victory, he knew, was dearly bought; and it behoved him to ſpare both men

men and horſes, fatigued with toil, and fainting under their wounds. Towards the cloſe of day, the whole force of Veſpaſian's army arrived, and joined Antonius. Having ſeen, on their march, the plains covered with dead bodies, and the ground ſtill reeking with blood, they concluded, from ſo vaſt a ſcene of ſlaughter, that the war was nearly over, and, to give the finiſhing blow, deſired to be led on to Cremona, either to receive a voluntary ſurrender, or to carry the place by ſtorm. This demand ſounded like courage and public ſpirit: but other motives were at the bottom. In their hearts the men argued for their own perſonal advantage. "Cremona," they ſaid, "was ſituated "in an open plain, and might be taken by aſſault. The dark- "neſs of the night would not abate their courage, and for ſpoil "and plunder that was the proper ſeaſon. If they waited for "the return of day, terms of peace might arrive; a capitulation "would be propoſed; and, in that caſe, what reward was the "ſoldier to expect for all his labour, and his blood ſpilt in the "ſervice? The cold, the uſeleſs praiſe of moderation and huma- "nity would be his only recompenſe, and the wealth of the "place would fall to the principal officers. By the laws of "war, when a town is carried by ſtorm, the booty belongs to the "ſoldiers; but a ſurrender transfers the whole to the generals." Inflamed by theſe conſiderations, they diſdained to liſten to the tribunes and centurions; with the clangour of their arms they ſuppreſſed the voice of reaſon, determined, if not led on to the attack, to ſhake off all authority.

XX. ANTONIUS made his way through the ranks, and by his preſence having commanded ſilence, ſpoke as follows: "It "is neither in my temper nor my intention to deprive a ſet of "gallant ſoldiers of the glory, or the recompenſe due to their "valour: but the general, and the men under his command,

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" have their diſtinct provinces. Courage and ardour for the " conflict are the ſoldier's virtues: to foreſee events, to provide " againſt diſaſters, and to plan with deliberation, and even with " delay, is the duty of the commander in chief. By ſuſpending " the operations of war, ſucceſs is often inſured: by temerity all " is put to the hazard. In the laſt battle I expoſed my perſon, " I fought in the ranks, I ſtrained every nerve to gain the vic- " tory: let me now by my experience, by advice, and by pru- " dent counſels, the true arts of a general, endeavour to termi- " nate the war with glory. The queſtion at preſent does not " admit of a doubt. We have the night before us; the town, " its entrance, and the condition of the works, are unknown to " us; the enemy is within the walls, and may try various ſtra- " tagems. And if the gates were thrown open, even then, " without the beſt intelligence, without broad day-light, and " without a view of the fortifications, it would be madneſs to " venture. And will you hazard an aſſault, without knowing " the approaches to the place, the height of the walls, and with- " out being able to judge whether we ought to batter a breach, " or by miſſive weapons drive the enemy from the works? " Which of you has been provident enough to bring his hatchet, " his pick-axe, and the various tools which a ſiege requires? " With thoſe inſtruments you are unprovided: and what arm " among you is ſtrong enough with a ſword and ſpear to ſap " the walls of Cremona? How are we to throw up ramparts? " and how prepare hurdles and penthouſes to cover our ap- " proach? In the moment of need, muſt we all ſtand at gaze, " wondering at our folly, and the ſtrength of the fortifications? " Paſs but one night, and with our battering engines, and our " warlike machines, we ſhall advance in force, and carry victory " along with us at the point of our ſwords." At the cloſe of this harangue he ordered the followers of the camp, eſcorted by

a ſelect party of the cavalry, to ſet out for Bedriacum, in order to bring a ſupply of proviſions, and all neceſſaries for the uſe of the army.

XXI. The ſoldiers were ſtill diſſatisfied, and a mutiny was ready to break out, when a party of horſe that went out to ſcour the country, and advanced as far as the walls of Cremona, returned with intelligence obtained from the ſtragglers who had fallen into their hands, that the whole Vitellian army encamped at Hoſtilia, having heard of that day's defeat, made a forced march of thirty miles, and, with a reinforcement of ſix legions, were near at hand, breathing vengeance, and determined to offer battle. In this alarming criſis the ſoldiers were willing to liſten to their ſuperior officer. Antonius prepared to receive the enemy. He ordered the thirteenth legion to take poſt on the Poſthumian cauſey; on the open plain, towards their left, he ſtationed the ſeventh, called the Galbian; and at a ſmall diſtance the ſeventh, named the Claudian, on a ſpot defended by a mere country ditch. On the right he placed the eighth legion, on a wide extended plain, and the third in a thick copſe, that ſtood near at hand. Such was the arrangement of the eagles and ſtandards: the ſoldiers took their poſt as chance directed them in the dark. The prætorian banner ſtood near the third legion; the auxiliary cohorts were in the wings: the cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. The two Suevian kings, Sido and Italicus, with the beſt troops of their nation, took their poſt in the front of the lines.

XXII. The Vitellian army had every advantage, without the ſkill to profit by their ſituation. Had they halted that night at Cremona, as prudence dictated, to refreſh their men by food and ſleep, the engagement, on the next morning, would have been

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been with an enemy chilled by the damps of the night, and faint for want of proviſions. A complete victory would, moſt probably, have been the conſequence. But they had no commander. Without conduct or judgment, about the third hour of the night, they made a forward movement, and attacked an army drawn up in order of battle. Of the diſpoſition made by the Vitellians in the gloom of night, without any guide but their own impetuous fury, it will not be expected that I ſhould give an accurate account: we are told, however, that it was as follows. The fourth legion, called MACEDONICA, was ſtationed in the right wing; the fifth and fifteenth, ſupported by the vexillaries of three Britiſh legions, the ninth, the ſecond, and the twentieth, formed the centre: in the left wing ſtood the firſt, the ſixteenth, and two-and-twentieth. The ſoldiers of the two legions called RAPAX and ITALICA were mixed at random throughout the lines. The cavalry and auxiliaries choſe their ſtation. The battle laſted through the night with great ſlaughter on both ſides, and alternate ſucceſs. In the dark, courage gave no ſuperiority; the ardent eye and the vigorous arm were of no avail. All diſtinction was loſt. The weapons on both ſides were the ſame. The watch-word, frequently aſked and repeated, was known to both armies. The colours, taken and retaken by different parties, were mixed in wild confuſion. The ſeventh legion, lately raiſed by Galba, ſuffered the moſt. Six of their principal centurions were killed on the ſpot, and ſome of their colours taken. The eagle itſelf was in danger, had not Attilius Verus, the principal centurion *(a)*, enacted wonders to prevent that diſgrace. He made a dreadful carnage, and died, at laſt, fighting with undaunted bravery.

XXIII. VESPASIAN'S army was giving way, when Antonius brought the prætorian cohorts into the heat of the action. They

They routed the enemy, and in their turn were forced to retreat. The Vitellians, at this time, changed the poſition of their battering engines, which, in the beginning, were placed in different parts of the field, and could only play at random againſt the woods and hedges that ſheltered the enemy. They were now removed to the Poſthumian way, and thence, having an open ſpace before them, could diſcharge their miſſive weapons with good effect. The fifteenth legion had an engine of enormous ſize *(a)*, which was played off with dreadful execution, and diſcharged maſſy ſtones, of weight to cruſh whole ranks at once. Inevitable ruin muſt have followed, if two ſoldiers had not ſignalized themſelves by a brave exploit. Covering themſelves with the ſhields of the enemy which they found among the ſlain, they advanced undiſcovered to the battering engine, and cut the ropes and ſprings. In this bold adventure they both periſhed, and with them two names that deſerved to be made immortal. The glory of the action is all that can be now recorded.

The battle was hitherto fought with doubtful ſucceſs, when, night being far advanced, the moon roſe, and diſcovered the face of things with great advantage to Veſpaſian's army. The light ſhone on their backs, and the ſhadows of men and horſes projected forward to ſuch a length, that the Vitellians, deceived by appearances, aimed at the wrong mark. Their darts, by conſequence, fell ſhort of their aim. The moon-beams, in the mean time, played on the front of their lines, and gave their bodies in full view to the adverſe army, who fought behind their ſhadows, as if concealed in obſcurity.

XXIV. ANTONIUS, at length, was happy that he could ſee, and be ſeen. He did every thing to rouſe the courage of his men; he upbraided ſome; he applauded others; he made ample

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promiſes, and gave hopes to all. He aſked the Pannonian legions, what was their motive for taking up arms? "Here," he ſaid, "here is the ſpot where you may efface the memory of "your former defeat: in this field you may redeem your ho-"nour." He called aloud to the Mæſians, "You were the firſt "movers of the war; you talked in high ſounding words; but "you talked in vain, if you can neither oppoſe the ſwords, nor "bear the eye of the enemy." He was buſy in every quarter, and had apt words for all. To the third legion he ſpoke more at large: he called to mind their former and their recent exploits. "They," he ſaid, "were the men, who under Mark An-"thony *(a)* defeated the Parthians; and the Armenians, under "Corbulo. In a late campaign the Sarmatians fled before them." The prætorians called forth his indignation: "Now," he ſaid, "now is your time to conquer, or renounce the name of ſol-"diers. If you give way, you will be deemed no better than "a band of peaſants. What general, or what camp, will re-"ceive you? Your enſigns and your colours are in the hands "of the enemy. You may there regain them; you now muſt "conquer, or be put to the ſword; after your late diſgrace there "is no alternative." A general ſhout reſounded through the field; and in that moment the third legion, according to the cuſtom obſerved in Syria, paid their adoration to the riſing ſun *(b)*.

XXV. This caſtern form of worſhip, either by chance, or by the contrivance of Antonius, gave riſe to a ſudden report that Mucianus was arrived, and that the two confederate armies exchanged mutual ſalutations. Animated by this incident, Veſpaſian's ſoldiers, as if actually reinforced, charged with redoubled fury. The Vitellian ranks began to give way. Left to their own impulſe, without a chief to conduct the battle, they extended

tended or condenſed their lines as fear or courage prompted. Antonius ſaw their confuſion. He ordered his men to advance in a cloſe compacted body. The looſe and ſcattered numbers of the enemy gave way at once. The carriages and engines, that lay at random in various parts of the field, made it impoſſible to reſtore the order of the battle. The victors, eager to purſue their advantage, puſhed forward to the cauſey, and, having gained a ſure footing, made a dreadful carnage.

An incident, that happened in the heat of the action, gave a ſhock to humanity. A father was killed by his own ſon. The fact and the names of the men are recorded by Vipſtanius Meſſala: upon his authority I ſhall ſtate the particulars. Julius Manſuetus, a native of Spain, enrolled himſelf in the legion already mentioned by the name of RAPAX. He left behind him a ſon then of tender years. The youth, grown up to manhood, enliſted in the ſeventh legion raiſed by Galba. In the hurry and tumult of the fight, he met his father, and with a mortal wound ſtretched him on the ground. He ſtooped to examine and rifle the body. The unhappy father raiſed his eyes, and knew his ſon. The ſon, in return, acknowledged his dying parent; he burſt into tears; he claſped his father in his arms; and, in the anguiſh of his heart, with earneſt ſupplications intreated him not to impute to his unhappy ſon the deteſtable crime of parricide. "The deed," he ſaid, "is horrible, but it "is not mine; it is the guilt of civil war. In the general mad-"neſs of the ſtate, the act of one poor wretched ſoldier is a "ſmall portion of the public miſery." He then opened a grave, embraced the body, and, with filial affection raiſing it in his arms, diſcharged the laſt melancholy duty to his murdered father.

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This pathetic ſcene did not eſcape obſervation. A few drew near, others were attracted, and in a ſhort time the fatal deed was known throughout the army. The ſoldiers heaved a ſigh, and with curſes execrated the frantic rage of civil diſcord. And yet, with thoſe ſentiments, they went the next moment to plunder their ſlaughtered friends, their relations, and brothers. They called it a crime, and yet repeated what their hearts condemned.

XXVI. The conquerors puſhed on to Cremona, and no ſooner drew near the place, than they ſaw a new difficulty ſtill to be ſurmounted. In the war with Otho, the German legions had formed a camp round the walls of the town, and fortified it with lines of circumvallation. New works were added afterwards. The victors ſtood aſtoniſhed at the ſight, and even the generals were at a ſtand, undecided what plan to purſue. With troops haraſſed and worn out by continued exertions through the night and day, an attempt to carry the place by ſtorm was not adviſable, and, without ſuccours at hand, might be dangerous; and yet the march to Bedriacum would be a laborious undertaking, and to retreat were to give up the fruit of a victory dearly earned. In their preſent ſituation, it would be neceſſary to throw up entrenchments; and that work, in the face of an enemy on the watch to ſally out, might put every thing to the hazard. A difficulty ſtill greater than all aroſe from the temper of the men, who ſhewed themſelves, at all times, inſenſible of danger, and impatient of delay. A ſtate of ſecurity was a ſtate of liſtleſs indolence, and daring enterpriſe was the proper occupation of a ſoldier. Wounds, and blood, and ſlaughter, were nothing to men who thought that plunder can never be too dearly bought.

XXVII. Antonius judged it beſt to yield to the diſpoſition

ſition of his men. He inveſted the works, determined to riſk a general aſſault. The attack began at a diſtance, with a volley of ſtones and darts. The advantage was on the ſide of the beſieged. They poſſeſſed the heights, and with ſurer aim annoyed the enemy at the foot of the ramparts. Antonius ſaw the neceſſity of dividing his operations: to ſome of the legions he aſſigned diſtinct parts of the works, and ordered others to advance againſt the gates. By this mode of attack in different quarters, he knew that valour as well as cowardice would be conſpicuous, and a ſpirit of emulation would animate the whole army. The third and ſeventh legions took their ſtation oppoſite to the road that leads to Bedriacum; the ſeventh and eighth Claudian legions carried on the ſiege on the right hand of the town; and the thirteenth inveſted the gate that looked towards Brixia *(a)*. In this poſition the troops reſted on their arms, till they were ſupplied from the neighbouring villages with pick-axes, ſpades, and hooks, and ſcaling ladders. Being, at length, provided with proper weapons, they formed a military ſhell with their ſhields, and, under that cover, advanced to the ramparts. The Roman art of war was ſeen on both ſides. The Vitellians rolled down maſſy ſtones, and, wherever they ſaw an opening, inſerting their long poles and ſpears, rent aſunder the whole frame and texture of the ſhields, while the aſſailants, deprived of ſhelter, ſuffered a terrible ſlaughter.

XXVIII. The aſſault was no longer puſhed on with vigour. The generals ſaw that their exhortations had no effect, and that mere praiſe was a barren recompenſe. To inſpire the men with courage, they pointed to Cremona as the reward of victory. Whether this expedient was, as Meſſala informs us, ſuggeſted by Hormus, or, on the authority of Caius Plinius *(a)*, muſt be laid to the account of Antonius, we have now no means of knowing.

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knowing. Whoever was the author of a deed ſo cruel and flagitious, neither of thoſe two officers can be ſaid to have degenerated from his former principles. The place being thus devoted to plunder, nothing could reſtrain the ardour of the ſoldiers. Braving wounds, and danger, and death itſelf, they began to ſap the foundation of the walls; they battered the gates; they braced their ſhields over their heads; and, mounting on the ſhoulders of their comrades, they grappled with the beſieged, and dragged them headlong from the ramparts. A dreadful havoc followed. The unhurt, the wounded, the maimed, and the dying, fell in one promiſcuous heap; and death, in all its forms, preſented a ſpectacle of horror.

XXIX. The moſt vigorous aſſault was made by the third and the ſeventh legions. To ſupport them, Antonius in perſon led on a ſelect body of auxiliaries. The Vitellians were no longer able to ſuſtain the ſhock. They ſaw their darts fall on the military ſhell *(a)*, and glide off without effect. Enraged at their diſappointment, in a fit of deſpair they rolled down their battering engine on the heads of the beſiegers. Numbers were cruſhed by the fall of ſuch a ponderous maſs. It happened, however, that the machine drew after it the parapet and part of the rampart. An adjoining tower, which had been inceſſantly battered, fell at the ſame time, and left a breach for the troops to enter. The ſeventh legion, in the form of a wedge, endeavoured to force their way, while the third hewed down the gate. The firſt man that entered, according to all hiſtorians, was Caius Voluſius, a common ſoldier of the third legion. He gained the ſummit of the rampart, and, bearing down all reſiſtance, with his voice, with his ſword made himſelf conſpicuous to his comrades, crying aloud, "The camp is taken." The reſt of the legion followed him with reſiſtleſs fury. The Vitel-

lians, in deſpair, threw themſelves headlong from the works. The conquerors purſued their advantage with dreadful ſlaughter. The whole ſpace between the camp and the walls of Cremona was one continued ſcene of blood *(b)*.

XXX. The town itſelf preſented new difficulties, high walls, and towers of ſtone, the gates ſecured by iron bars, and the works well manned with troops, that ſhewed themſelves on the ramparts, in force, and brandiſhing their arms. The inhabitants, a large and numerous body, were all devoted to Vitellius, and the annual fair, which was then held, had drawn together a prodigious conflux from all parts of Italy. This appeared to the garriſon in the nature of a reinforcement; but it was, at the ſame time, an acceſſion of wealth that inflamed the ardour of the beſiegers. Antonius ordered his men to advance with miſſive combuſtibles, and ſet fire to the pleaſant villas that lay round the city, in hopes that the inhabitants, ſeeing their manſions deſtroyed, would more readily ſubmit to a capitulation. In the houſes that ſtood near the walls, of a height to overlook the works, he placed the braveſt of his troops; and, from thoſe ſtations, large rafts of timber, ſtones, and firebrands were thrown in upon the garriſon. The Vitellians were no longer able to maintain their poſt.

XXXI. The legions under Antonius were now preparing for a general aſſault. They formed their military ſhell, and advanced to the works, while the reſt of the army poured in a volley of ſtones and darts. The beſieged began to deſpair; their ſpirit died away by degrees, and the men high in rank were willing to make terms for themſelves. If Cremona was taken by ſtorm, they expected no quarter. The conquerors, in that caſe, diſdaining vulgar lives, would fall on the tribunes and centurions,

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turions, from whom the largeſt booty was to be expected. The common men, as uſual, careleſs about future events, and ſafe in indigence and obſcurity, were ſtill for making head againſt the enemy. They roamed about the ſtreets in ſullen obſtinacy, or loitered in private houſes, neither making war, nor thinking of peace. The principal officers took down the name and images of Vitellius. Cæcina was ſtill in confinement. They releaſed him from his fetters, and deſired his good offices with the conqueror. He heard their petition with diſdain, ſwelling with pride and inſolence in proportion to the meanneſs with which they implored his aid. The laſt ſtage of human miſery! when ſo many brave and gallant men were obliged to ſue to a traitor for protection. As a ſignal of ſubmiſſion, they hung out from the walls the ſacerdotal ſcarfs *(a)* and ſacred veſtments. Antonius ordered a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The garriſon marched out with the eagles and ſtandards. The proceſſion was ſlow and melancholy; the ſoldiers without their arms, dejection in their countenance, and their eyes rivetted to the ground. The conquerors gathered round them, with taunts and ribaldry inſulting their misfortunes, and even threatening violence to their perſons. But the humility of the vanquiſhed, and the paſſive temper with which they bore every indignity, without a trace remaining of their former ferocity, awakened compaſſion in every breaſt. It was now remembered, that theſe very men conquered at Bedriacum, and uſed their victory with moderation. At length Cæcina came forth in his ornamental robes, with all the pomp of a conſular magiſtrate, the lictors preceding him, and opening way for him through the crowd. The indignation due to a traitor broke forth at once. The ſoldiers treated him with every mark of contempt; they reproached him for his pride, his cruelty, and even for his treachery: ſo true it is, that villany is ſure to be deteſted by the very people who have profited by it. Antonius

ſnatched

ſnatched him from the fury of the men, and ſoon after ſent him, properly eſcorted, to Veſpaſian.

XXXII. The common people of Cremona, in the midſt of ſo many ſoldiers fluſhed with the pride of victory, were in danger of being all put to the ſword, if the general officers had not interfered to prevent the effuſion of blood. Antonius called an aſſembly of the army. He ſpoke of the conquerors in magnificent terms, and of the vanquiſhed with humanity. He mentioned Cremona with reſerve and cold indifference. But the men were bent on the ruin of the colony. To their love of plunder they added an implacable averſion to the people, and various motives conſpired to work the deſtruction of the place. In the war againſt Otho the inhabitants were deemed the ſecret abettors of Vitellius; and afterwards, when the thirteenth legion was left among them to build an amphitheatre, the populace, in their uſual ſtrain of vulgar humour, made the ſoldiers an object of deriſion. In addition to this, the ſpectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina was turned into a crime againſt the people. Their city was now, for the ſecond time, the ſeat of war; and, in the heat of the laſt engagement, the Vitellians were thence ſupplied with refreſhments, and ſome of their women, who had been led into the field of battle by their zeal for the cauſe, were ſlain among the ranks. But above all, the well-known opulence of the colony, increaſed, in that juncture, by the vaſt concourſe attracted to the fair with their goods and merchandiſe, was a deciſive argument for the demolition of the place. Antonius by his fame and brilliant ſucceſs eclipſed all the other commanders. The attention of the men was fixed on him alone. Determined, however, to be neutral on the occaſion, he retired to a bath to refreſh himſelf after the fatigue of the day. Finding the water not ſufficiently warm, he ſaid in a careleſs manner, "It will be hot enough in a

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"little time." That trifling expreſſion, dropt by accident amongſt his ſlaves, was afterwards caught up, and propagated to his prejudice, as if it were the intended ſignal for ſetting fire to Cremona. At that moment the city was in a blaze.

XXXIII. FORTY thouſand men had entered ſword in hand. The number of ſlaves and mean attendants of the camp was ſtill greater, all bent on miſchief, and more inclined to acts of barbarity than even the ſoldiers. Neither ſex, nor age, nor dignity of rank was ſpared. A ſcene of blood was laid, and, amidſt the horrors of a general maſſacre, luſt and violation triumphed. Old men and ancient matrons, who had no wealth to ſatisfy avarice, were dragged forth with ſcorn, and butchered with deriſion. The young and comely of either ſex were ſure to ſuffer the brutal paſſions of abandoned men, or to be torn piecemeal in the ſtruggle for the poſſeſſion of their perſons. In thoſe conflicts the contending rivals, in the rage of diſappointed luſt, turned their ſwords againſt each other. The men, who were ſeen carrying off the wealth of houſes, or maſſy gold from the temples, were attacked and butchered by others as rapacious as themſelves. Not content with the treaſures that lay open to their view, they put ſeveral to the rack, in order to extort a confeſſion of concealed riches. The ground was dug up to gratify the rage of avarice. Numbers carried flaming torches, and, as ſoon as they had brought forth their booty, made it their ſport to ſet the houſes and temples on fire. In ſo vaſt a multitude, as diſſonant in their language as their manners, compoſed of Roman citizens, allies, and foreign auxiliaries, all the fell paſſions of mankind were crowded together. Each ſoldier had his peculiar notions of right and wrong; and what one ſcrupled, another dared to execute. Nothing was unlawful, nothing ſacred. Four days were ſpent in the deſtruction of this unfortunate city. Things profane and holy periſhed

in the flames. The temple of Mephitis *(a)*, which ſtood on the outſide of the walls, was the only ſtructure left entire. It was ſaved by its ſituation, or, perhaps, by the goddeſs to whom it was dedicated.

XXXIV. SUCH was the fate of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-ſix years from its foundation. The firſt ſtone was laid during the conſulſhip of Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius, at the time when Hannibal threatened an irruption into Italy. The deſign was to have a frontier town, to bridle the Gauls inhabiting beyond the Po, or any power on the other ſide of the Alps. The colony, from that time, grew into celebrity; their numbers multiplied, and their wealth increaſed; the country round was interſected with rivers; the ſoil was fertile, and by intermarriages *(a)* the inhabitants formed alliances with the neighbouring towns of Italy. The city continued to flouriſh in the worſt of times, ſafe from foreign enemies, till ruined at laſt by the rage of civil war. Antonius felt that the whole diſgrace of this horrible tranſaction preſſed hard upon himſelf. To ſoften reſentment, he iſſued an edict, forbidding all manner of perſons to detain the citizens of Cremona as priſoners of war. At the ſame time, all Italy entered into a reſolution not to purchaſe the captives taken on that melancholy occaſion. The ſoldiers, finding that their prey was rendered uſeleſs, began to murder the wretches whom they could not ſell. This barbarity, however, was checked as ſoon as known. The priſoners were ranſomed by their friends and relations. The ſurvivors in a ſhort time returned to Cremona. The temples and public places were rebuilt, at the recommendation of Veſpaſian, by the munificence of the colony.

XXXV. A CITY buried in its own ruins, the country round

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polluted with gore, and the air infected by the exhalation of putrid bodies, afforded no place where the army could remain. They encamped at the diſtance of three miles. The Vitellian ſoldiers, who in their panic had fled different ways, were brought back, as faſt as they were found, and once more enrolled in their proper companies; and, leſt the legions to which they belonged ſhould meditate hoſtile deſigns, they were ſent into Illyricum, and there ſtationed, at a diſtance from the ſeat of war. To ſpread the fame of Veſpaſian's arms, meſſengers were diſpatched into Britain and both the Spains. Julius Calenus, one of the tribunes, was ſent into Gaul, and Alpinus Montanus, the præfect of a cohort, into Germany. The former was by birth an Æduan, and the latter a native of Treves; both warmly attached to Vitellius, and, for that reaſon, choſen, with an air of triumph, to bear the news of his defeat. Care was alſo taken to ſecure by a chain of poſts the paſſes over the Alps, to prevent an irruption from Germany, ſuppoſed, at that time, to be in arms in favour of the vanquiſhed party.

XXXVI. VITELLIUS, in a few days after Cæcina ſet out from Rome, prevailed on Fabius Valens to take upon him the conduct of the war. From that moment he gave himſelf up to his uſual gratifications, in wine and gluttony loſing all ſenſe of danger. He made no preparation for the field, and ſhewed no attention to the ſoldiers. He neither reviewed, nor exerciſed, nor harangued them; never once appeared before the people. Hid in the receſs of his gardens, he indulged his appetite, forgetting the paſt, the preſent, and all ſolicitude about future events; like thoſe nauſeous animals that know no care, and, while they are ſupplied with food, remain in one ſpot, torpid and inſenſible. In this ſtate of ſtupidity he paſſed his time in the grove of Aricinum *(a)*, when the treachery of Lucilius Baſſus,

and the revolt of the fleet at Ravenna, roused him from his lethargy. In a short time after arrived other dispatches, by which he learned, with mixed emotions of grief and joy, the perfidy of Cæcina, and his imprisonment by the soldiers. In a mind like his, incapable of reflection, joy prevailed over every other passion, and absorbed all ideas of danger. He returned to Rome in the highest exultation; and having extolled, before an assembly of the people, the zeal and ardour of the army, he ordered Publius Sabinus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, and the intimate friend of Cæcina, to be taken into custody. Alphenus Varus succeeded to the command.

XXXVII. VITELLIUS went next to the senate, and, in a speech of prepared eloquence, talked highly of the posture of affairs. The fathers answered him in a strain of flattery. The case of Cæcina was brought into debate by Lucius Vitellius. He moved that immediate judgment should be pronounced against him. The rest of the senate concurred; and, with well acted indignation, launched out against the complicated perfidy of a man, who in the character of consul abandoned the commonwealth, as a general officer betrayed his prince, and, as a friend loaded with honours, gave an example of base ingratitude. In this specious manner they affected to lament the lot of Vitellius, but, in fact, felt only for themselves and the commonwealth. Through the whole debate, not a word was uttered against the leaders of Vespasian's party; the revolt of the several armies was called, in qualifying terms, an error in judgment; and, with studied circuity, the name of Vespasian was wholly avoided. They alluded to him, they hesitated, and yet passed him by in silence. To complete the consulship of Cæcina one day remained. To fill that little interval, a man was found willing to be invested with the short-lived pageantry; and, accordingly, on the

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the day preceding the calends of November, Roſius Regulus entered on the office, and on the ſame day finiſhed his career. The public ſaw with deriſion a farce of ſtate altogether ridiculous, as well on the part of the prince, who granted the mock dignity, as on that of the ſycophant, who had the pitiful ambition to accept it. It was obſerved by men verſed in the hiſtory of their country, that no inſtance had ever occurred of a new conſul, before the office was declared vacant in due courſe of law. Caninius Rebilus *(a)*, it is true, had been the conſul of a day; but that was in the time of Julius Cæſar, when that emperor, in haſte to reward his friends for their ſervices in the civil wars, thought fit, by an act of power, to ſhorten the duration of the conſulſhip.

XXXVIII. The death of Junius Blæſus became at this time publicly known, and engroſſed the converſation of all ranks of men. The particulars of this tragic event, as far as they have come to my knowledge, are as follows. It happened that Vitellius, confined by illneſs in the gardens of Servilius, ſaw, in the night time, a tower in the neighbourhood gaily illuminated. He deſired to know the reaſon of that ſplendid appearance, and was told, that Cæcina Tuſcus gave a grand entertainment to a party of his friends, amongſt whom Junius Blæſus was the moſt diſtinguiſhed. The ſumptuous preparations, and the mirth of the company, were deſcribed with every circumſtance of exaggeration. The creatures of the court did not fail to impute it as a crime to Tuſcus and his gueſts, that they choſe their time for revelling, in an unſeaſonable juncture, when the prince was indiſpoſed. Their malice chiefly glanced at Blæſus. The men, who made it their buſineſs to pry into the ſecret thoughts of the emperor, ſoon perceived that they had infuſed their venom with ſucceſs, and that the ruin of Blæſus might be eaſily accompliſhed.

To

To make ſure of their blow, they applied to Lucius Vitellius, who readily undertook to manage the accuſation. Being himſelf ſtained with every vice, and for his life and morals univerſally decried, he ſaw with envy the fair reputation and the popular eſteem that attended Blæſus. With this jealouſy rankling in his heart, he claſped the emperor's infant ſon in his arms, and, entering the prince's chamber, went down on his knees. Vitellius aſked him, Why that ſudden alarm? "It is not for "myſelf," replied the brother, "that I am thus diſtreſſed: it is "for you I ſhed theſe tears; for you and your children I come "to offer up my prayers and ſupplications. From Veſpaſian "we have nothing to fear: the German legions are in arms to "hinder his approach; the provinces declare againſt him, and "vaſt tracts of ſea and land detain him at a diſtance from the "ſeat of war. The enemy to be dreaded is near at hand; he "is in the city of Rome; he is even now lurking in your boſom. Proud of his deſcent from Mark Anthony and the Junian family, he affects to be connected with the imperial line, "and, by careſſes and a ſtyle of magnificence, endeavours to "conciliate to himſelf the affections of the ſoldiers. Upon this "man all eyes are fixed. Vitellius, in the mean time, paſſes "away his hours in unſuſpecting ſecurity, neglecting at once "his enemies and his friends; he cheriſhes in his boſom a "treacherous rival, who from the banqueting table, and his ſcene "of midnight revelry, beheld with joy the languid condition of "his ſovereign. But for joy and riot let him be repaid with "vengeance, and a night of mourning; let him know that Vi-"tellius lives; that he is maſter of the Roman world, and, "whenever the lot of humanity ſhall call him hence, that he "has a ſon to follow in the order of ſucceſſion."

XXXIX. VITELLIUS balanced, for ſome time, between the horror

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horror of the deed propoſed and his apprehenſions for himſelf. By deferring the fate of Blæſus, he might accelerate his own ruin, and to give public orders for his execution were a dangerous expedient. A meaſure ſo bold and open would excite the indignation of the people. To diſpatch him by poiſon ſeemed to be the ſafeſt method. That he was guilty of that execrable villany, the viſit which he paid to Blæſus leaves no room to doubt. He was ſeen tranſported with ſavage joy, and was heard to ſay, "I have feaſted my eyes with the pangs of an ex-"piring enemy." Thoſe were his words. The character of Blæſus was without a blemiſh. To the dignity of his birth, and the elegance of his manners, he united the ſtricteſt honour, and unſhaken fidelity to the emperor. While Vitellius was ſtill flouriſhing in proſperity, Cæcina, and other chiefs of the party, endeavoured to draw him into a league with themſelves; but he was proof againſt all temptation; firm, upright, void of ambition. He ſought no ſudden honours, and to a mind like his the imperial dignity had no allurement. And yet his modeſty threw ſuch a luſtre round his virtues, that he narrowly eſcaped being deemed worthy of the ſucceſſion.

XL. DURING theſe tranſactions, Fabius Valens, with a number of concubines and eunuchs in his train, proceeded by ſlow and tedious marches, unlike a general going to a great and important war. On the road he received intelligence of the treachery of Lucilius Baſſus, and the defection of the fleet at Ravenna. Had he then puſhed on with vigour, he might have joined Cæcina, who was ſtill wavering and undecided; at the worſt, he might have put himſelf at the head of the legions before they came to a deciſive action. His friends were of opinion, that, with a few faithful attendants, avoiding the road that led to Ravenna, he ought to proceed, with expedition, through private

private ways to Hoſtilia or Cremona. Others preſſed him to bring into the field the prætorian bands from Rome, and force his way to the Vitellian army. But the time was loſt in fruitleſs deliberation. The poſture of affairs called for vigour, and Valens remained irreſolute and inactive. In the end, rejecting all advice, he choſe a middle courſe, in preſſing exigencies always the moſt pernicious. He neither acted with the courage nor the prudence of an able general.

XLI. He ſent diſpatches to Vitellius for a reinforcement, and was ſoon after joined by three cohorts and a ſquadron of horſe from Britain; a number too great to ſteal a march, and too weak to open a paſſage through an enemy's country. Even in this arduous juncture, amidſt the dangers that preſſed on every ſide, Valens was not to be weaned from his favourite vices. Riot, luſt, and adultery marked his way. He had power and money; and, even in ruin, his libidinous paſſions did not deſert him. He was no ſooner joined by the foot and cavalry ſent by Vitellius, than he ſaw, too late, the folly of his meaſures. With his whole force, ſuppoſing the men true to Vitellius, he could not hope to penetrate through the adverſe army; much leſs could he expect it, when their fidelity was already ſuſpected. Shame, and reſpect for their general, ſtill left ſome impreſſion on the minds of the men; but thoſe were feeble reſtraints, when the love of enterpriſe was the ruling paſſion, and all principle was entinguiſhed. Valens felt the difficulty of his ſituation. Having ordered the cohorts to march forward to Ariminum *(a)*, and the cavalry to follow in the rear, he himſelf, with a few adherents whom adverſity had not yet ſeduced, directed his courſe towards Umbria *(b)*, and thence to Etruria, where he firſt heard of the defeat at Cremona. In that diſaſtrous moment he conceived a bold deſign, in its extent vaſt and magnificent, and,

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had it been carried into execution, big with fatal conſequences. He propoſed to ſeize the ſhips on the coaſt, and bear away to Narbon Gaul, in order to land ſomewhere in that country, and rouſe the provinces of Gaul, with the armies ſtationed there, and the various German nations. The project was worthy of a great officer, and, by its conſequences, muſt have involved the world in a new war.

XLII. The departure of Valens threw the garriſon of Ariminum into conſternation. Cornelius Fuſcus advanced, at the head of his army, to lay ſiege to the place, and, having ordered the fleet to ſail round the coaſt, inveſted it by ſea and land. His forces ſpread themſelves over the plains of Umbria, and ſtretched into the territory of Picenum *(a)* as far as the Adriatic gulf. Italy was now divided between Veſpaſian and Vitellius by the Apennine mountains. Valens embarked at the port of Piſa *(b)*, but being becalmed, or meeting with contrary winds, was forced to land at Monaco *(c)*. Marius Maturus, the governor of the maritime Alps, was then in the neighbourhood; a man attached to Vitellius, and, though the country round eſpouſed the oppoſite intereſt, ſtill firm in his duty. This officer received Valens with open arms; but the deſign of making an attempt on the coaſt of Narbon Gaul, appeared to him raſh and impracticable. By his advice the project was laid aſide. The few followers, who had hitherto adhered to Valens, began to think of ſhifting for themſelves. They ſaw the adjacent cities going over to Valerius Paulinus, who commanded in the neighbourhood; an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, and, long before the war broke out, devoted to Veſpaſian. Under his influence the people declared for the new emperor.

XLIII. Paulinus was maſter of Forojulium, a place of

importance, that gave him the command of thoſe ſeas. He had there ſtationed a garriſon, conſiſting of men diſbanded by Vitellius, and therefore willing to take up arms againſt him. Paulinus was a native of the colony, and had, by conſequence, great weight with his countrymen. He had alſo been a tribune of the prætorian guards, and was held in high eſteem by the ſoldiers of that deſcription. The people were willing to ſecond the views of their fellow citizen, and the hope of future advantages from his elevation was a ſpur to their zeal. In this poſture of affairs, while every thing was ſwelled by the voice of fame to greater magnitude, Valens ſaw the ſpirit of the Vitellian party depreſſed and broken. To return to his ſhips was now his only refuge. He took with him four prætorians, three faithful friends, and as many centurions. With thoſe attendants he once more embarked, leaving Maturus, and ſuch as were willing to ſubmit to Veſpaſian, to purſue their own inclination. As to himſelf, the open ſea was his ſafeſt place: on ſhore he ſaw no ſecurity, and in the adjacent cities no proſpect of relief. Without a reſource left, and rather ſeeing what was to be avoided than what he ought to purſue, he put to ſea, and was thrown by adverſe winds on the iſlands called the Stæchades *(a)*, near Marſeilles. Paulinus, without loſs of time, ſent out his light-armed galleys, and Valens was taken priſoner.

XLIV. The Vitellian general being now in the hands of the enemy, the whole force of the empire was transferred to Veſpaſian. In Spain, the firſt legion, called Adjutrix, ſtill reſpecting the memory of Otho, and by conſequence hoſtile to Vitellius, gave an example of revolt to the reſt of the army. The tenth and ſixth legions followed. The provinces of Gaul acceded without heſitation. In Britain the ſame ſpirit prevailed. During the reign of Claudius, Veſpaſian headed the ſecond

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legion; and the men, ſtill remembering the heroic ardour with which he led them on to victory, were ſoon decided in his favour. They met, however, ſome oppoſition from the other legions, in which a conſiderable number of centurions and ſoldiers, who had been promoted by Vitellius, were unwilling to deſert a prince, to whom they felt themſelves bound by ties of gratitude. It was with reluctance that they were brought to acknowledge a new maſter.

XLV. ENCOURAGED by the diſſenſion among the legions, and alſo by the civil wars that diſtracted the empire, the Britons renewed their ancient animoſity. Venuſius headed the malecontents. To his own natural ferocity that chieftain added a rooted antipathy to the Roman name. He was, beſides, the avowed enemy of Cartiſmandua *(a)*, queen of the Brigantes; a woman of high deſcent, and flouriſhing in all the ſplendour of wealth and power. In the reign of Claudius, ſhe had treacherouſly delivered up Caractacus, to ſwell the pomp of that emperor's triumph. From that time riches flowed in upon her; but riches drew after them their uſual appendages, luxury and diſſipation. She baniſhed from her preſence Venuſius her huſband, and raiſed Vellocatus, his armour-bearer, to her throne and bed. By that criminal act ſhe loſt all authority. Convulſions ſhook her kingdom. The diſcarded huſband had the people on his ſide, while the adulterer had nothing to protect him but the libidinous paſſions of the queen, and the cruelty of her reign. Venuſius was in a ſhort time at the head of a powerful army. The ſubjects of the queen flocked to his ſtandard, and a body of auxiliaries joined him. Cartiſmandua was reduced to the laſt extremity. She invoked the protection of the Romans, who ſent ſome cohorts and ſquadrons of horſe to her relief. Several battles enſued, with various ſucceſs. The queen, however,

ever, was reſcued from impending danger, though ſhe loſt her kingdom. Venuſius wreſted the ſceptre out of her hands, and the Romans were involved in a war.

XLVI. About the ſame time, Germany was up in arms. The ſeditious ſpirit of the legions, and the ſluggiſh inactivity of the commanders, encouraged the Barbarians to invade the Roman frontiers. By the treachery of the ſtates in alliance, and the ſtrength of the enemy, the intereſt of the empire was brought to the brink of ruin. Of this war, and the cauſes that produced it, with the various events that followed, I ſhall hereafter *(a)* give a regular account: it would lead at preſent to a long digreſſion. Commotions, about the ſame time, broke out in Dacia. Fidelity never was the character of that nation; and, ſince the legions were withdrawn from Mæſia, there remained no force to hold the people in ſubjection. They had the policy, however, to watch in ſilence the firſt movements of civil diſcord among the Romans. Seeing, at length, that Italy was in a blaze, they ſeized their opportunity, and ſtormed the winter quarters of the cohorts and the cavalry. Having made themſelves maſters of both banks of the Danube, they were preparing to raze to the ground the camp of the legions, when Mucianus, appriſed of the victory at Cremona, ſent the ſixth legion to check the incurſions of the enemy. The good fortune that had often favoured the Roman arms, brought Mucianus in the moment of diſtreſs, with the forces of the eaſt, to quell the inſurrection, before the people of that country, backed by the German nations, could make an irruption into Italy. In that juncture, Fonteius Agrippa *(b)* arrived from Aſia, where he had governed for a year with proconſular authority, and was now appointed to command in Mæſia. He undertook the charge, at the head of an army compoſed of Vitellian ſoldiers, whom it was then the policy to diſperſe through the

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the provinces, and employ their arms againſt the foreign enemies of the empire.

XLVII. THE reſt of the provinces were by no means free from commotion. A man who had been originally a ſlave, and afterwards commanded a royal fleet, kindled the flame of war in Pontus, and drew together a body of men in arms. His name was Anicetus *(a)*, the freedman and favourite miniſter of Polemon, high in power while that monarchy laſted, but now enraged to ſee the kingdom turned into a Roman province. In the name of Vitellius he rouſed the nations bordering on the Pontic ſea. The hope of plunder attracted to his ſtandard all the freebooters of the country. Finding himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of a force not to be deſpiſed, he attacked and carried by aſſault the city of Trapezund *(b)*, founded in ancient times by a colony from Greece, at the extremity of the Pontic ſea. An entire cohort, formerly a royal garriſon, was put to the ſword. The men had received the privilege of Roman citizens *(c)*, and, from that time, uſed the arms and banners of Rome, ſtill retaining their native indolence, and the diſſolute manners of the Greeks. This adventurer, after his firſt exploit, ſet fire to Veſpaſian's fleet, and put out to ſea ſafe from purſuit, as the beſt of the light galleys, by order of Mucianus, were ſtationed at Byzantium. Encouraged by his example, the Barbarians on the coaſt began a piratical war. They roamed about in boats of a particular ſtructure, the ſides, broad at the bottom, and growing narrow by degrees, in the form of a curve, and neither bound with hoops of iron nor of braſs. In a tempeſtuous ſea, they raiſe the ſides with additional planks in proportion to the ſwell of the waves, till the veſſel is covered over with an arched roof, and thence is called the floating CAMERA *(d)*. At either end they have a ſharp-pointed prow; their oars are readily ſhifted to work back-

backward or forward, moving with facility in either direction, and thus their mariners advance or retreat with eaſe and ſecurity.

XLVIII. VESPASIAN thought it of moment to chaſe this band of pirates from the ſeas, and, for this purpoſe, ſent a detachment of the legions under the command of Virdius Geminus, an officer of known experience. He came up with the Barbarians, as they were roaming on the ſhore in queſt of prey, and forced them to fly with precipitation to their boats. Having, in a ſhort time after, conſtructed a number of galleys fit for the ſervice, he gave chaſe to Anicetus, and drove him up the mouth of the river Cohibus *(a)*; a ſtation where the freebooter thought himſelf ſafe under the protection of the king of the Sedochezan nation *(b)*. By money and various preſents he had purchaſed the friendſhip of that prince, and for a ſhort time enjoyed the advantage of his alliance. The king threatened to take up arms in his defence; but finding that he was to chooſe between bribery or an impending war, he preferred his intereſt, and, with the uſual treachery of Barbarians, having ſtruck a bargain for the life of his friend, ſurrendered the whole party to the Romans. In this manner ended the ſervile war.

The iſſue of this piratical war gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to Veſpaſian; and, to fill the meaſure of his joy, an account of the victory at Cremona reached him in Ægypt. Without loſs of time, he ſet out for Alexandria, with intent, ſince Vitellius could no longer keep the field, to reduce the people of Rome by famine; a project eaſily accompliſhed, as that city, for its ſubſiſtence, always depends on foreign ſupplies. It was alſo part of his plan to ſecure the coaſt of Africa both by land and ſea little doubting, when all reſources were cut off, but he ſhould involve the

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the Vitellian party in all the miſeries of want, and, by conſequence, in diſſenſions among themſelves.

XLIX. While things in every quarter of the world tended with rapidity to a revolution, and the imperial dignity was paſſing into the hands of a new ſovereign, Antonius, flushed with his ſucceſs at Cremona, no longer preſerved the moderation that marked his conduct before that important event. The war he thought ſo far decided, that every thing would be ſpeedily ſettled; or, perhaps, the ſunſhine of proſperity called forth the ſeeds of pride, of avarice, and the other vices of his nature. He conſidered Italy as a conquered country; he careſſed the ſoldiers, as if he intended to ſecure them to himſelf; by his words and actions he ſeemed reſolved to eſtabliſh his own power; he encouraged the licentious ſpirit of the army, and left to the legions the nomination of centurions to fill the vacant poſts of ſuch as were ſlain in battle. The conſequence was, that the moſt bold and turbulent were choſen, and diſcipline went to ruin. The officers loſt all authority, and the ſoldiers commanded. The army being wholly corrupted by theſe popular but ſeditious arts, Antonius thought he might ſafely give the reins to his avarice, and began by public rapine to enrich himſelf. The approach of Mucianus was no reſtraint, though to incur the diſpleaſure of that commander, was more dangerous than to offend Veſpaſian himſelf.

L. The winter being now at hand, and the country laid under water by the overflowing of the Po, the army was obliged to march lightly equipped. The eagles and banners of the victorious legions, with the old, the wounded, and even numbers in full vigour, were left at Verona. The cohorts and cavalry, with a ſelect detachment from the legions, were thought ſufficient againſt

againſt an enemy already vanquiſhed. The eleventh legion, at firſt unwilling to enter into the war, but ſince the turn of affairs regretting that they had no ſhare in the victory, had lately joined the army, accompanied by ſix thouſand Dalmatians, newly levied. The whole body was, in appearance, led by Poppæus Silvanus, a man of conſular rank; but, in fact, Annius Baſſus governed their motions by his ſkill and advice. Silvanus had no military talents: in the moment that called for enterpriſe, he was more inclined to waſte the time in words, than to act with vigour. Baſſus aſſiſted him with his beſt counſels, appearing to obey, but in truth commanding. To this body of forces was added the flower of the marines from the fleet at Ravenna, who had deſired to be conſidered as legionary ſoldiers. The fleet, in the mean time, was manned by the Dalmatians. The army proceeded as far as the temple of Fortune *(a)*, and there made halt by order of the chiefs, who had not yet ſettled their plan of operations. They had received intelligence that the prætorian cohorts were on their march from Rome, and the paſſes over the Apennine were ſuppoſed to be in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. In a country laid waſte by war, they dreaded the danger of wanting proviſions; and the clamours of the ſoldiers demanding the donative, by the army called CLAVARIUM *(b)*, were loud, and tending to ſedition. The generals had no money in their military cheſt, and their proviſions were exhauſted by the rapacity of the ſoldiers, who ſeized the ſtores, which ought to have been diſtributed with frugal management.

LI. A FACT extraordinary in its nature, and yet vouched by writers of good authority, will ſerve to ſhew how little of moral rectitude and natural ſentiment remained in the minds of the victorious army. A common ſoldier belonging to the cavalry averred that, in the late engagement, he killed his brother, and

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for that deed of horror he had the hardineſs to demand a recompenſe. The laws of nature would not allow the ſuperior officers to reward an action that ſhocked humanity; and to puniſh it was inconſiſtent with the policy of war. Under a plauſible pretence of not being able, in that juncture, to proportion their bounty to the extent of the merit, they adjourned the buſineſs, and thought of it no more. In former civil wars, we have upon record a ſimilar tragic incident, but with a different iſſue. In the battle with Cinna at Janiculum *(a)*, a man of Pompey's party (as Siſenna relates the ſtory) ſlew his brother, and ſoon after, finding his miſtake, diſpatched himſelf: ſo true it is, that in ancient times, men not only had a quick ſenſe of glory, but alſo felt a juſt abhorrence of evil deeds. For the inſertion of this anecdote no apology will be deemed neceſſary: on the contrary, it may be proper to revive the memory of paſt tranſactions, in order, whenever the occaſion requires it, to exhibit a bright example of eminent virtue, or to ſooth the mind under the preſſure of recent calamity.

LII. ANTONIUS, in concert with the principal officers, judged it prudent to ſend forward the cavalry, with orders to explore, in ſome part of Umbria, a place of moderate acclivity over the Apennine mountains. In the mean time, the troops left behind at Verona were ordered to advance with the eagles and ſtandards. Meaſures were alſo taken to procure a ſupply of proviſions by ſea, and alſo by the navigation of the Po. But delay was what ſome of the chiefs had much at heart. They knew the pride and growing ambition of Antonius, and thought it more for their intereſt to curry favour with Mucianus, who ſaw with a jealous eye the rapid ſucceſs with which Antonius puſhed on his conqueſt. If the general of the eaſt did not arrive in time to enter Rome with the victorious army, it was evident that the

the whole glory of the war would fall to the lot of others. His letters to Varus and Antonius were dark, ambiguous, and contradictory; ſometimes recommending diſpatch, and afterwards ſtating the advantages of caution and dilatory meaſures. By this duplicity he hoped to aſſume the merit of whatever ſucceeded, and, if any misfortune happened, to throw the blame on others. With his intimate friends, and, in particular, with Plotius Griphus *(a)*, lately raiſed by Veſpaſian to the rank of ſenator, and the command of a legion, his correſpondence was more open and direct. The anſwers which he received were in a ſtyle agreeable to his wiſhes, full of compliments to himſelf, and malignant reflections on the raſhneſs of Varus and Antonius. Theſe letters Mucianus took care to forward to Veſpaſian. The impreſſion which they made was unfavourable to Antonius, who knew the value of his ſervices, and yet found himſelf ſupplanted in the opinion of the future emperor.

LIII. ANTONIUS, with the ſpirit of an injured man, complained of the inſidious arts with which Mucianus undermined his character. Above diſguiſing his paſſions, and ſcorning to temporize, he ſpoke his mind with freedom. His letters to Veſpaſian were in a tone more lofty than is uſually addreſſed to princes. He talked of himſelf with an air of confidence, and with aſperity of Mucianus, the aſſaſſin of his reputation. "It was by Antonius that the legions in Pannonia were "excited to a revolt; by him the leaders in Mæſia were inſpired "with courage; by him the Alps were forced, Italy was ſub-"dued, and by him all ſuccours from Germany and Rhætia were "entirely cut off. By him the cavalry was led on to attack "the legions of Vitellius, in the moment of diſunion among "themſelves; and the complete victory obtained by the infantry, "after an obſtinate engagement that laſted night and day, was

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" an exploit of which envy itſelf could not deny him the merit. " The deſtruction of Cremona was a calamity incident to the rage " of civil war; and yet that calamity, dreadful as it was, could " not be compared to the diſaſters of former times, when the " republic ſaw her cities razed to the ground, and the land de- " luged with blood. In the war which he had conducted, his " ſword, and not his pen, was the weapon which he employed. " Inſtead of writing ſecret diſpatches, he fought the enemy in the " field. Nor did he mean to detract from thoſe who commanded " in Aſia: they had the mighty glory of preſerving tranquillity " in the diſtant territory of Mæſia, while he routed the Vitellian " armies, and made himſelf maſter of Italy. Spain and Gaul, " the two bulwarks of the empire, were by his influence drawn " over to Veſpaſian. But his beſt efforts had been in vain ex- " erted, if his laurels, ſo dearly earned, were to be transferred to " men, who neither ſhared in the victory, nor the danger." Theſe remonſtrances did not remain a ſecret to Mucianus. The conſequence was, a deadly feud between the two commanders; on the part of Antonius, carried on with open and avowed hoſtility; on that of Mucianus, with cloſe diſguiſe, and, for that reaſon, the more implacable.

LIV. VITELLIUS, after the overthrow of his army at Cremona, thought it good policy to ſuppreſs the news. By that ſhallow artifice, he made every thing worſe. Diſſimulation could only poſtpone the remedy, but not ward off the conſequences of that dreadful defeat. Had the event been fairly told, a council might have been called, and there were reſources ſtill in reſerve. In the midſt of ruin, he pretended to be in a flouriſhing condition, and by that fallacy was undone. The war was not ſo much as mentioned in his preſence. The citizens of Rome were forbid to talk of the news of the day, and, for that

reaſon, they talked the more. Since liberty of ſpeech was no longer allowed, inſtead of the plain truth, they gave out fictitious accounts, and, becauſe they were reſtrained, took their revenge by making every thing worſe. The chiefs of the adverſe party omitted nothing that could extend the fame of their victory. The ſpies, that fell into their hands, were induſtriouſly led round the camp, and, after ſeeing the ſtrength and ſpirit of the conquerors, diſmiſſed to make their report at Rome. Vitellius examined them in private, and, that nothing might tranſpire, ordered them to be put to death. A ſingular proof of fidelity and generous courage was, at this time, given by a centurion; his name Julius Agreſtis. This man, in ſeveral interviews with Vitellius, tried in vain to rouſe his maſter to a ſpirit of enterpriſe. All he could obtain was leave to go in perſon to view the ſtrength of the enemy, and ſee the real condition of Cremona. Scorning to approach Antonius in the character of a ſpy, he avowed the emperor's orders, and his own reſolution. A guard was appointed to conduct him. He was led to the field of battle; he ſurveyed the ruins of Cremona, and ſaw the legions that had laid down their arms. With that intelligence he returned to Vitellius. The emperor, deaf to the voice of truth, and unwilling to be convinced, charged the centurion with treachery and corruption. "I perceive," ſaid Agreſtis, "that "ſome great and ſignal proof is neceſſary; and, ſince neither my "life nor death can now be of any uſe, I will give you that "evidence which cannot deceive." He retired, and fell on his ſword. According to ſome hiſtorians, he was ſlain by order of Vitellius. Be that as it may, the fidelity of the generous centurion deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

LV. At length Vitellius was rouſed from his ſtate of ſtupefaction. He ordered Julius Priſcus and Alphenus Varus, at the head

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head of fourteen prætorian cohorts, and the whole of the cavalry, to take poſſeſſion of the Apennine mountains. A legion of marines was ſent after them. A force ſo conſiderable, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſand horſe and foot, under any other general, would have been ſufficient not only to withſtand the enemy, but even to wage an offenſive war. The cohorts, that remained for the defence of the city, were put under the command of Lucius Vitellius, the emperor's brother. The emperor, in the mean time, abated nothing from his habitual luxury. He began, however, with a precipitation that ſprung from fear, to grant away whatever the ſtate had to beſtow. He hurried on the election of public magiſtrates, and appointed a ſucceſſion of conſuls for ſeveral years; he concluded treaties with the allies of Rome; he inveſted foreign cities with the privileges of Latium; he granted to ſome nations an exemption from all kinds of tribute, and to others immunities unheard of before; regardleſs of poſterity, and, in all events, determined to exhauſt the commonwealth. The populace applauded the liberality of the emperor. Some were weak enough to purchaſe favours, which, it was evident, could not laſt; while men of reflection ſaw, that laviſh grants, which could neither be made nor accepted without diſtreſſing the public, muſt be declared null and void. At length Vitellius, urged by the importunity of the army, which lay encamped at Mevania *(a)*, marched out of the city, attended by a numerous train of ſenators, all following with different motives; ſome to pay their court, and the greater part, afraid of giving jealouſy to a prince, who joined his army without any ſettled plan, in himſelf no reſource, no deciſion, the ready dupe of every treacherous adviſer.

LVI. HAVING reached the camp, Vitellius called an aſſembly of the ſoldiers. During his ſpeech, a wonderful phænomenon

engaged the attention of all. A flight of ill-omened birds hovered over his head, forming a cloud that obſcured the day. This was followed by another prognoſtic of an alarming nature. A bull broke looſe from the altar, and, trampling under foot all the preparations for the ſacrifice, fled to a diſtant place, and there, on a ſpot where victims were never ſlain, was felled to the ground. But Vitellius, in his own perſon, preſented a ſight that exceeded every prodigy; a chief void of military knowledge, without judgment to plan, or courage to execute. He had not ſkill enough to explore the motions of the enemy, and to the art of avoiding or bringing on a general engagement he was an utter ſtranger. Every incident betrayed his ignorance or his puſillanimity. When meſſengers arrived, he turned pale, faltered in his gait, aſked queſtions, trembled, and returned to his bottle. Weary at length of the camp, and terrified by the revolt of the fleet at Miſenum, he went back to Rome, alarmed at every new event, yet never looking forward to the iſſue of the war. All opportunities were utterly loſt by his folly. The true and obvious meaſure would have been, to paſs over the Apennine with his whole force, and ſeek an enemy diſtreſſed by the rigour of the winter ſeaſon, and a dearth of proviſions. Inſtead of this, Vitellius ſuffered his army to be diſperſed in different places, and, by that conduct, gave to the ſlaughtering ſword a ſet of brave and gallant ſoldiers, whoſe valour and fidelity nothing could ſhake. The centurions ſaw the blunder, and the beſt amongſt them, had they been conſulted, were ready with honeſt advice. But the creatures of the court baniſhed every faithful counſellor. The ear of Vitellius was open to flattery only: uſeful advice was harſh and grating; and nothing was welcome, but what ſoothed his paſſions, while it led to ſure deſtruction.

LVII. The revolt of the fleet at Miſenum was occaſioned alto-

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altogether by the fraud of Claudius Faventinus; ſo much in civil commotions depends on the boldneſs of a ſingle traitor. This man had been a centurion under Galba, and was by that emperor caſhiered with ignominy. To ſeduce the men to his purpoſes, he forged letters from Veſpaſian, promiſing ample rewards to ſuch as went over to his party. Claudius Apollinaris was, at that time, commander of the fleet; a man inclined to treachery, but wanting reſolution to be forward in guilt. It happened that Apinius Tiro, who had diſcharged the office of prætor, was then at Minturnæ *(a)*. He placed himſelf at the head of the revolters, and drew the neighbouring colonies and municipal towns into the confederacy. The inhabitants of Puteoli *(b)* declared with alacrity for Veſpaſian, while Capua, with equal vehemence, adhered to Vitellius. Thoſe two cities had been long at variance, and now mingled with the rage of civil war all the rancour of their private animoſities. In order to bring the revolters back to their duty, Vitellius fixed on Claudius Julianus, who had been præfect of the fleet at Miſenum, and had the character of being mild in the exerciſe of his authority. He ſet out from Rome at the head of a city cohort, and a band of gladiators, over whom he had been, before that time, appointed commanding officer. He was no ſooner in ſight of the rebel camp, than he went over to Veſpaſian. The two parties, with their combined force, took poſſeſſion of Tarracina, a city ſtrong both by nature and art. In that place the revolters were more indebted for their ſecurity to the ſtrength of the works, than to their own military talents.

LVIII. VITELLIUS, having received intelligence of theſe tranſactions, ordered part of his army to take poſt at Narnia *(a)*, under the command of the prætorian præfects, while his brother Lucius Vitellius, at the head of ſix cohorts and five hundred horſe, marched into Campania, to check the progreſs of the revolt. He himſelf,

himſelf, in the mean time, ſunk into a ſtate of languor, overwhelmed with deſpair and melancholy, till the generous ardour of the ſoldiers, and the clamours of the populace demanding to be armed, revived his drooping ſpirits. He flattered himſelf, that a turbulent multitude, bold in words, but without ſpirit in action, would be equal to the regular legions. To a mere mob he gave the name of an army. His freedmen were his only adviſers. In ſuch as profeſſed to be his friends, he repoſed no confidence. The truth is, all of that claſs, the higher they ſtood in rank, were the more ready to betray. By the advice of his ſervile counſellors, he ordered the people to be aſſembled in their tribes *(b)*. As they came forward to enroll their names, he received the oath of fidelity; but the crowd preſſing too thick upon him, he grew weary of the taſk, and left the buſineſs of completing the new levy to the two conſuls. The ſenators were required to bring in a quantity of ſilver, and a certain number of ſlaves. The Roman knights made a voluntary offer to ſerve with their lives and fortunes. The freedmen, in a body, deſired to be admitted to the ſame honour. This humour continued, till what at firſt proceeded from ſervility and fear, grew ſerious in the end, and became real ardour. The greater part, notwithſtanding, felt no affection for the prince; indifferent about the man, they grieved to ſee the humiliating condition, to which the empire was reduced. Vitellius, on his part, omitted nothing that could conciliate the public favour. He appeared with a dejected air; he ſpoke in a pathetic tone; he tried the force of tears; he made ample promiſes, laviſh of words, and, as is uſually the caſe with men in diſtreſs, generous beyond all bounds. He now deſired to aſſume the title of Cæſar. His ſuperſtitious veneration for a name, in which he thought there was ſomething ſacred, made him willing to accept what he had often rejected. The public clamour was an additional motive. The populace thought it proper,

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and, in cafes of extreme danger, the voice of the rabble is equal to the wiſeſt counſels. But the ſpirit, which at the flood was violent, ſoon began to ebb away. The ſenators and knights fell off by degrees, at firſt, in the abſence of the prince, watching their opportunity with care and caution; but, in the end, not even managing appearances, with open and avowed indifference. Vitellius gave up his cauſe for loſt. He ſaw that the prince demands in vain, when the people are no longer willing to comply.

LIX. By taking poſſeſſion of Mevania *(a)*, Vitellius had ſtruck all Italy with terror. The war ſeemed to revive with redoubled vigour, but, by his daſtardly flight from the camp, he loſt every advantage. Veſpaſian's intereſt gained additional ſtrength. The people, throughout the country, went over to his party with uncommon ardour. The Samnites, the Pelignians, and the Marſians *(b)*, ſaw, with regret, the prompt alacrity, with which the inhabitants of Campania had taken the lead in the revolt; and, to atone for their own remiſſneſs, declared for Veſpaſian, with all the vehemence which a new paſſion inſpires. Meanwhile, the army, in paſſing over the Apennine, ſuffered every extremity from the rigour of the winter. The difficulty, with which, though unmoleſted by the enemy, they laboured through a waſte of ſnow, plainly ſhews the dangers that ſurrounded them, if fortune, no leſs propitious to Veſpaſian than the wiſdom of his counſels, had not drawn Vitellius from his poſt. During the march over the mountains, Petilius Cerealis, in the diſguiſe of a common peaſant, preſented himſelf to the general. Being well acquainted with the courſe of the country, he had been able to elude the purſuit of the Vitellians. As he had the honour of being allied to Veſpaſian, and was beſides an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, he was not only well received, but ranked with

with the commanders in chief. The writers of that day inform us, that Flavius Sabinus, and Domitian, had it in their power to eſcape out of Rome. Antonius, it is ſaid, by his emiſſaries, invited them to a place of ſafety; but Sabinus declined the offer, alleging his ill ſtate of health, and his want of vigour for ſo bold an enterpriſe. Domitian was not deficient either in ſpirit or inclination. Even the guards, appointed by Vitellius to watch his motions, offered to join his flight; but he ſuſpected an underhand deſign to draw him into a ſnare, and, for that reaſon, made no attempt. His fear, however, was ill founded. Vitellius felt a tender regard for his own family, and on their account meditated nothing againſt the life of Domitian.

LX. The army purſued their march as far as Carſulæ *(a)*. At that place the generals thought fit to halt for ſome days, as well to reſt the troops, as to wait the arrival of the eagles and ſtandards of the legions. The ſituation afforded a pleaſant ſpot for their camp, with an open champaign country on every ſide, abounding with plenty, and behind them a number of opulent and flouriſhing cities. Being then not more than ten miles diſtant from the Vitellian forces, they hoped, by intrigue and ſecret negociation, to induce the whole party to lay down their arms. But the ſoldiers were impatient of delay. They wiſhed to end the war by victory, not by compromiſe. They deſired to be led againſt the enemy, before the arrival of their own legions, who would be ſure to claim a ſhare of the booty, though their aſſiſtance was not wanted. Antonius called the men together, and, in a public harangue, informed them, "that Vitellius had "ſtill numerous forces in reſerve, all willing, if left to their own "reflection, to hearken to terms of accommodation; but deſpair "might rouſe their courage. In the firſt movements of a civil "war, much muſt be left to chance. To complete the conqueſt,

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" is the province of wiſdom, and deliberate counſels. The fleet " at Miſenum, with the whole region of Campania, the faireſt " part of Italy, had already declared for Veſpaſian. Of the whole " Roman world, the tract that lies between Narnia and Terracina " was all that remained in the hands of Vitellius. By the victory " at Cremona enough of glory had been gained, and by the " demolition of that city, too much diſgrace. Rome ſtill flou- " riſhes in all its grandeur. To ſave that city, the ſeat of em- " pire, from the like calamity, would be more for their honour, " than the wild ambition of taking it by aſſault. Their fame " would ſtand on a more ſolid baſis, and their reward would " be greater, if, with the ſpirit of citizens, and without further " effuſion of blood, they protected the rights of the ſenate, and " the Roman people."

LXI. By theſe remonſtrances the fury of the ſoldiers was appeaſed. The legions arrived ſoon after, and, by the fame of their united force, ſtruck the Vitellians with diſmay. To hold out to the laſt extremity, was no longer the advice or exhortation of the officers. To ſurrender was thought the beſt meaſure. Numbers ſaw the advantage of going over to the enemy with their companies of foot, or their troops of horſe, and by that ſervice hoped to merit better terms for themſelves. Advice was received, that four hundred of the enemy's cavalry were ſtationed in the neighbourhood, in garriſon at *Interamna (a)*. Varus, at the head of a detached party, marched againſt them. All, who reſiſted, were put to the ſword; the greater part laid down their arms, and begged quarter. Some fled in a panic to the camp at Narnia, and there, by magnifying the numbers and courage of the enemy, endeavoured to palliate their own diſgrace. In the Vitellian army defection and treachery went unpuniſhed: guilt had nothing to fear from the officers, and from the victors it met with a ſure

a ſure reward. Who ſhould be the moſt expeditious traitor was now the only ſtruggle. The tribunes and centurions deſerted in open day, while the common ſoldiers adhered to Vitellius with undaunted reſolution; but, at length, Priſcus and Alphenus *(b)* gave the finiſhing blow to all their hopes. Thoſe two officers abandoned the camp, in order to return to Vitellius, and by that ſtep made the apology of all, who, being left without a leader, went over to the ſide of the ſtrongeſt.

LXII. DURING theſe tranſactions, Fabius Valens was put to death in priſon at Urbinum *(a)*. A report had been ſpread abroad, that he made his eſcape into Germany, and was there employed in raiſing an army of veterans to renew the war. To clear up that miſtake, and cruſh at once the hopes of the Vitellians, his head was expoſed to public view. At the ſight of that unexpected object, the enemy ſunk down in deep deſpair, while the Flavian party conſidered that event as the end of all their labour.

Fabius Valens was a native of Anagnia, deſcended from a family of equeſtrian rank. His manners were corrupt and profligate, but to his vices he united no ſmall degree of genius. A libertine in the purſuit of pleaſure, he acquired an air of gaiety, and paſſed for a man of polite accompliſhments. In the interludes, called Juvenalia *(b)*, which were exhibited in the reign of Nero, he appeared among the pantomime performers, at firſt with ſeeming reluctance, but afterwards, of his own choice, diſplaying talents, that gained applauſe, while they diſgraced the man. Riſing afterwards to the command of a legion under Verginius, he paid his court to that commander, and betrayed him. He ſeduced Fonteius Capito *(c)*, or, perhaps, found him incorruptible, and, for one of thoſe reaſons, murdered him. Falſe to Galba *(d)*, yet faithful to

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to Vitellius, he exhibited, in the laſt ſtage of life, a contraſt to the general depravity of the times. The perfidy of others raiſed his reputation.

LXIII. The Vitellians, ſeeing all hopes cut off, determined to ſubmit to the conqueror, and, accordingly, to the utter diſgrace of the party, deſcended into the plains of Narnia, with their colours diſplayed, there to make a voluntary ſurrender. Veſpaſian's army was drawn up in order of battle. They formed their lines on each ſide of the public road, and in the intermediate ſpace received the vanquiſhed troops. Antonius addreſſed them in a ſpeech, that breathed moderation and humanity. They were quartered at different places; one diviſion at Narnia, and the other at Interamna. A party of the victorious legions were ſtationed near them, not with a deſign to inſult or irritate men in diſtreſs, but, in caſe of need, to preſerve peace and good order. Antonius and Varus, in the mean time, did not neglect the opportunity of negociating with Vitellius. By frequent meſſengers they offered for himſelf a ſupply of money, and a ſafe retreat in Campania, upon condition that he ſhould lay down his arms, and ſurrender himſelf and his children to the diſcretion of Veſpaſian. Letters to the ſame effect were alſo ſent to him by Mucianus. Vitellius liſtened to theſe propoſals. He even went ſo far, as to amuſe himſelf with ſettling the number of his train, and to talk of the ſpot on the ſea ſhore where he intended to fix his retreat. Such was the ſtupidity that benumbed his faculties: if others would not remember that he had been emperor of Rome, he himſelf was willing to forget it.

LXIV. At Rome, in the mean time, the leading men endeavoured, by ſecret exhortations, to incite Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city, to take an active part in the aproaching

revolution, and claim a ſhare in the fame and ſplendour of ſo great an event. "The city cohorts," they ſaid, "were all devoted "to him; the ſoldiers of the night-watch *(a)* would join them; "and their own ſlaves might be called forth. Every thing favoured "the enterpriſe, and nothing could withſtand the victorious arms "of a party, in whoſe favour fortune had already decided. Why "leave to Varus and Antonius the whole glory of the war? "Vitellius had but a few cohorts left, a mere handful of men, "alarmed at the news from every quarter, and overwhelmed "with fear. The minds of the populace were always wavering, "fond of change, and ready to ſhift to the ſide of the ſtrongeſt. "Let Sabinus ſhew himſelf, and the acclamations, now given to "Vitellius, would be as loud for Veſpaſian. As to Vitellius, the "tide of proſperity overpowered him; what muſt now be his "caſe, when he ſees deſtruction on every ſide? To end the war, "be maſter of Rome; that will conſummate all, and the merit "as well as the glory will be yours. Who ſo fit as Sabinus to "ſecure the ſovereign power for his brother? And whom can "Veſpaſian, with ſo much propriety, wiſh to ſee the ſecond man "in the empire?"

LXV. THESE temptations, bright as they were, made no impreſſion on Sabinus. Enfeebled by old age, he was no longer alive to motives of ambition. His inactivity was by ſome imputed to a jealous ſpirit, that wiſhed to retard the elevation of his brother. Sabinus was the elder, and, while both remained in a private ſtation, always took the lead, ſuperior not only in point of fortune, but alſo in the opinion of the public. When Veſpaſian ſtood in need of pecuniary aſſiſtance, Sabinus ſupported his credit, but, according to report, ſecured himſelf by a mortgage *(a)* on his brother's houſe and lands. From that time they lived on good terms, preſerving the exteriors of friendſhip, while mutual animoſity

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was ſuppoſed to be ſuppreſſed in ſilence. Such were the ſuſpicions that prevailed at the time. The fair and probable conſtruction is, that Sabinus, a man of a meek diſpoſition, wiſhed to ſpare the effuſion of blood, and, with that intent, held frequent conferences with Vitellius, in order to compromiſe the diſpute, and ſettle the terms of a general pacification. We are told, that, having agreed, in private, on the preliminary articles, they ratified a final treaty in the temple of Apollo *(b)*, in the preſence of Cluvius Rufus *(c)* and Silius Italicus *(d)*, who attended as witneſſes. The ſcene was not without a number of ſpectators, who ſtood at a diſtance, watching the looks and behaviour of the contracting parties. Vitellius ſhewed in his countenance an air of ſorrow and abject humility. Sabinus ſcorned to inſult a man in diſtreſs; he ſeemed to feel for the unfortunate.

LXVI. VITELLIUS had long ſince diveſted himſelf of every warlike paſſion, and, if to perſuade others had been as eaſy as to degrade himſelf, Veſpaſian's army might have taken poſſeſſion of the city of Rome unſtained with blood. But his friends were ſtill firm in his intereſt; their zeal was not to be ſubdued; they rejected all terms of accommodation, and with warmth proteſted againſt a peace, which brought with it no ſecurity, but depended altogether on the will and pleaſure of the conqueror. "Was it "probable that Veſpaſian would have the magnanimity to let "his rival live ſecure in a private ſtation? Would the vanquiſhed "bear it? The friends of a fallen emperor would commiſerate "his caſe, and that commiſeration would be his certain ruin *(a)*; "the ruin, it was true, of a man advanced in years, who had "ſeen the viciſſitudes of good and evil fortune. But what would "be the ſituation of his ſon? What name, what rank, what "character could be beſtowed on him, who had been already "honoured with the title of Germanicus? The preſent offer "promiſes

" promiſes a ſupply of money, a houſehold train, and a ſafe " retreat in the delightful regions of Campania: but when Veſ- " paſian ſeizes the imperial dignity, neither he, nor his friends, " nor even his armies, will think themſelves ſecure, till, by the " death of a rival, they cruſh the ſeeds of future contention. " Even Fabius Valens, though a priſoner, and, while they feared " a reverſe of fortune, reſerved as a pledge in the hands of the " enemy, was thought at laſt too formidable, and for that reaſon " he fell a ſacrifice. And is it to be imagined, that Antonius, " and Fuſcus, or Mucianus, that pillar of the party, will not make " the ſame uſe of their power over Vitellius? Pompey was purſued " to death by Julius Cæſar, and Mark Anthony by Auguſtus. " But, perhaps, ſuperior ſentiment and true greatneſs of ſoul are " to be expected from Veſpaſian! Let us not deceive ourſelves. " He is now a new man, formerly the client *(b)*, the creature of " Vitellius, who, at that time, was joined in the conſulſhip with " the emperor Claudius. All motives conſpire to rouſe and ani- " mate the emperor: the dignity of an illuſtrious line, the office " of cenſor, three conſulſhips held by his father, with the various " honours heaped on his family. Theſe are powerful incen- " tives. They call aloud for ſome bold effort of courage, or at the " worſt, of brave deſpair. The ſoldiers are ſtill determined to " meet every danger, and the fidelity of the people nothing can " alter. In all events, no calamity can be ſo bad as that, into " which Vitellius ſeems willing to plunge himſelf. If vanquiſhed, " we muſt periſh by the ſword; if we ſurrender, what will be the " caſe? An ignominious death. To chooſe between infamy and " glory, is all that now remains. The only queſtion is, Shall we " tamely reſign our lives, amidſt the ſcorn and inſolence of the " enemy? or ſhall we act like men, and die ſword in hand, with " honour and applauſe?"

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LXVII. VITELLIUS was deaf to every manly ſentiment. An obſtinate reſiſtance might render the conqueror inexorable to his wife and children, and that conſideration overpowered him with grief and tenderneſs. His mother was now no more. Worn out with age, ſhe died a few days before, happy not to behold the downfal of her family. From the elevation of her ſon ſhe derived nothing, except the anxiety, that preyed upon her ſpirits, and the fame of a blameleſs character. On the fifteenth before the calends of January *(a)*, the defection of the legions and cohorts, that ſurrendered at Narnia, reached the ears of Vitellius. On receipt of that diſmal intelligence, he went forth from his palace in mourning apparel *(b)*, ſurrounded by his family in deep affliction. His infant ſon was carried in a ſmall litter, with all the appearance of a funeral ceremony. The populace followed in crowds, with unavailing ſhouts, and flattery out of ſeaſon. The ſoldiers marched in ſullen ſilence.

LXVIII. IN that vaſt multitude, no man was ſo inſenſible of the events and ſudden revolutions of human life, as not to be touched by the miſery of the ſcene before him. They ſaw an emperor, but a little before maſter of the Roman world, abandoning his palace, and, in the midſt of a vaſt crowd of citizens aſſembled round him, proceeding through the ſtreets of Rome to abdicate the imperial dignity. No eye had ſeen a ſpectacle ſo truly affecting; no ear had heard of ſo diſmal a cataſtrophe. Cæſar, the dictator, fell by ſudden violence; Caligula periſhed by a dark conſpiracy; Nero fled through devious paths, while the ſhades of night concealed his diſgrace; Piſo and Galba may be ſaid to have died in battle. Vitellius, before an aſſembly of the people called by himſelf, in the midſt of his own ſoldiers, and in the preſence of a concourſe of women, who beheld the ſad reverſe of

of fortune, by his own act depoſed himſelf. In a ſhort but pathetic ſpeech, he declared his voluntary abdication. "I retire," "he ſaid, for the ſake of peace and the good of the common-"wealth: retain me ſtill in your memory, and view with an eye "of pity the misfortunes of my brother, my wife, and infant "children. I aſk no more." He raiſed his ſon in his arms, and ſhewed him to the people; he turned to individuals; he implored the compaſſion of all. A guſh of tears ſuppreſſed his voice: in that diſtreſs, taking his ſword from his ſide, and addreſſing himſelf to Cæcilius Simplex *(a)*, the conſul, who ſtood near him, he offered to deliver it into his hands, as the ſymbol of authority over the lives of the Roman citizens. The conſul refuſed to accept it, and the people, with violent uproar, oppoſed his reſignation. Vitellius left the place. His intention was to lay down all the enſigns of ſovereignty in the temple of Concord *(b)*, and ſeek an humble retreat in his brother's houſe. This again met with a ſtrong oppoſition from the populace. The general cry was, that the houſe of a private citizen was not a proper manſion: all inſiſted on his returning to the palace. The crowd obſtructed the ſtreets, and no paſs was left open, except that called the *Sacred Way*. In confuſion, diſtracted, and left without advice, Vitellius returned to the palace.

LXIX. The abdication of the prince was ſoon known throughout the city. Upon the firſt intelligence, Flavius Sabinus ſent orders in writing to the tribunes of the cohorts, commanding them to reſtrain the violent ſpirit of the ſoldiers. The leading members of the ſenate, as if the whole power of the ſtate was falling at once into the hands of Veſpaſian, went in a body to the houſe of Sabinus. A numerous band of the equeſtrian order, with the city ſoldiers, and the night-watch, followed the example of the fathers. They were there informed of the zeal of the

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people for Vitellius, and the menaces thrown out by the German cohorts. Sabinus was too far advanced to think of a retreat. Individuals trembled for themſelves: if they diſperſed, the Vitellians might ſeize the opportunity to lay a ſcene of blood. To prevent that terrible diſaſter, they urged Sabinus to take up arms, and ſhew himſelf in force to the people. But, as often happens in preſſing exigencies, all were ready to adviſe, and few to ſhare the danger. Sabinus went forth at the head of a band of ſoldiers. Near the Fundane lake *(a)*, a bold and reſolute party of the Vitellians advanced againſt him. A ſkirmiſh enſued. The Vitellians had the advantage. Sabinus retreated to the fort of the capitol, and in that ſtrong hold ſhut himſelf up with his ſoldiers, and a ſmall party of ſenators and Roman knights. A liſt of their names cannot be given with any preciſion, as numbers afterwards, in the reign of Veſpaſian, aſſumed a ſhare of merit in that tranſaction. There were even women, who dared to defy the danger of a ſiege. Among theſe the moſt diſtinguiſhed was Verulana Gracilia, a woman of high ſpirit, who had neither children nor relations to attract her, but acted entirely on the impulſe of her own intrepid genius. The Vitellians inveſted the citadel, but guarded the paſſes with ſo much negligence, that Sabinus, in the dead of night, was able to receive into the place his own children *(b)*, and Domitian his brother's ſon. At the ſame time, he ſent diſpatches to the victorious army, to inform the chiefs of his ſituation, and the neceſſity of immediate relief. The beſiegers attempted nothing during the night. Had Sabinus taken advantage of their inactivity, he might have made his eſcape through the paſſes neglected by a ferocious enemy, bold and reſolute, but ſcorning all regular diſcipline, and impatient of fatigue. It happened, beſides, that a ſtorm of rain fell with all the violence of the winter ſeaſon. During the tempeſt, the men could neither ſee nor hear one another.

LXX. At the dawn of day, before hoſtilities commenced, Sabinus diſpatched Cornelius Martialis, a principal centurion, with inſtructions to repreſent to Vitellius the treachery of his conduct, in open violation of a ſolemn treaty. "The late abdi-
"cation was no better than a ſtate farce, played in the face of
"mankind, to deceive the moſt illuſtrious citizens. For what
"other purpoſe did he wiſh to withdraw to his brother's houſe,
"ſo ſituated as to overlook the forum, and attract the eyes of
"the public? Why not rather chooſe the manſion of his wife,
"a ſequeſtered ſtation near mount Aventine? For him, who re-
"nounced the ſovereign power, a place of obſcurity was the
"fitteſt. But Vitellius ſought the very reverſe: he returned
"to his palace, the citadel, as it were, of the empire, and thence
"ſent forth a military force to deluge the beſt part of the city
"with innocent blood. Even the capitol was no longer a ſanc-
"tuary. During the rage of civil war, while the fate of em-
"pire hung ſuſpended between Veſpaſian and Vitellius; while
"the legions drenched their ſwords in the blood of their fellow
"citizens; while cities were taken by ſtorm, and whole cohorts
"laid down their arms; the part which Sabinus acted, was that
"of a ſenator and a civil magiſtrate. Both the Spains, the Upper
"and Lower Germany, and all Britain had revolted; and yet
"the brother of Veſpaſian preſerved his fidelity to the reigning
"prince. If at length he entered into a negociation, Vitellius
"invited him to the meeting. The ſtipulated terms were ad-
"vantageous to the vanquiſhed; and to the conqueror brought
"nothing but fame and honour. If Vitellius repented of that
"tranſaction, why point his arms againſt Sabinus, who had been
"the dupe of inſidious policy? Why beſiege the ſon of Veſpa-
"ſian, a youth not yet grown up to the age of manhood *(a)*? By
"the murder of an old man, and the death of a ſtripling, what
"advantage could be gained? It would be more for the honour
"of

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" of Vitellius to make head againſt the legions, and decide the " conteſt in the field of battle. A ſingle victory would end the " war, and every thing would fall to the lot of the conqueror." Vitellius liſtened to this remonſtrance with viſible marks of fear. He endeavoured in few words to clear his own conduct, imputing the whole miſchief to the ſoldiers, whoſe intemperate zeal was no longer ſubject to his authority. He adviſed Martialis to depart through a private part of the houſe, leſt the ſoldiers in their fury ſhould deſtroy the negociator of a peace which they abhorred. He himſelf remained in his palace, unable to command or to prohibit any meaſure whatever; a mere phantom of power, no longer emperor, but ſtill the cauſe of civil diſſenſion.

LXXI. MARTIALIS had no ſooner entered the capitol, than the Vitellian ſoldiers appeared before it; no chief to lead them on; all ruſhing forward with impetuous fury, and every man his own commanding officer. Having paſſed the forum, and the temples *(a)* that ſurround it, they marched up the hill that fronts the capitol, and, after halting there to form their ranks, advanced in regular order to the gates of the citadel. On the right ſide of the aſcent, a range of porticos had been built in ancient times. From the top of thoſe edifices the beſieged annoyed the enemy with ſtones and tiles. The aſſailants had no weapons but their ſwords. To wait for warlike engines ſeemed a tedious delay to men impatient for the aſſault. They threw flaming torches into the portico neareſt at hand; and, ſeeing the deſtruction made by the devouring flames, were ready to force their way through the gate *(b)*, if Sabinus had not thrown into a heap all the ſtatues that adorned the place, and, with thoſe venerable monuments of antiquity, blocked up the paſſage. The Vitellians puſhed on the aſſault in two different quarters; one near the grove of the aſylum *(c)*, and the other near the hundred

dred ſteps of the Tarpeian rock *(d)*. Both attacks were unforeſeen. Near the aſylum-grove the affair grew ſerious. On that ſide of the hill, the houſes, which had been built during a long peace, were raiſed as high as the foundation of the capitol. The beſiegers climbed to the top of thoſe buildings, in ſpite of every effort to ſtop their progreſs. The roofs were immediately ſet on fire, but whether by the beſieged, or the beſiegers *(e)*, is uncertain. The current opinion aſcribed it to the former. The flame ſoon reached the contiguous porticos, and, in a ſhort time, ſpread to the eagles (a ſet of pillars ſo called) that ſupported the buildings. The wood, being old and dry, was ſo much fuel to increaſe the fire. In the conflagration that followed, the capitol, with all its gates ſhut, and neither ſtormed by the enemy, nor defended by Sabinus, was burnt to the ground.

LXXII. From the foundation of the city to that hour, the Roman people had felt no calamity ſo deplorable, no diſgrace ſo humiliating. Without the ſhock of a foreign enemy, and, if we except the vices of the age, without any particular cauſe to draw down the wrath of heaven, the temple of Jupiter, ſupreme of gods; a temple, built in ancient times *(a)* with ſolemn rites and religious auſpices, the pledge of future grandeur; which neither Porſena *(b)*, when Rome ſurrendered to his arms, nor the Gauls *(c)*, when they took the city by ſtorm, had dared to violate; that ſacred edifice was now demoliſhed by the rage of men contending for a maſter to reign over them. The capitol, it is true, was once before deſtroyed by fire during the violence of a civil war *(d)*; but the guilt was then confined to the treachery of a few incendiaries, the madneſs of evil-minded men. In the preſent juncture, it was beſieged with open hoſtility, and in the face of day involved in flames. And what adequate motive?

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tive? What object in view to atone for ſo wild a phrenſy? Was the ſword drawn in the cauſe of public liberty?

Tarquinius Priſcus, during the war which he waged againſt the Sabines, bound himſelf by a vow to build that ſacred ſtructure. He afterwards laid the foundation, on a plan ſuggeſted by his own vaſt idea of the riſing grandeur of the empire, but inconſiſtent with the circumſtances of an infant ſtate. Servius Tullius, aſſiſted by the zeal of the allies of Rome, went on with the work, and after him Tarquin the proud, with the ſpoils of Sueſſa Pometia *(e)*, added to the magnificence of the building. But the glory of completing the deſign was reſerved for the æra of liberty, when kings were depoſed and baniſhed for ever. It was under the republic that Horatius Pulvillus *(f)*, in his ſecond conſulſhip, performed the ceremony of dedicating the temple, at that time finiſhed with ſo much grandeur, that the wealth of after ages could do no more than grace it with new embelliſhments: to its magnificence nothing could be added. Four hundred and fifteen years afterwards, in the conſulſhip of Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus *(g)*, it was burnt to the ground, and again rebuilt on the old foundation. Sylla, who in that juncture had triumphed over all oppoſition to his arms, undertook the care of the building: the glory of dedicating it would have crowned his felicity *(h)*; but that honour was reſerved for Lutatius Catulus *(i)*, whoſe name, amidſt ſo many noble monuments of the Cæſars, remained in legible characters till the days of Vitellius. Such was the ſacred building, which the madneſs of the times reduced to aſhes.

LXXIII. The fire, when it firſt began to rage, threw the combatants into the utmoſt confuſion, but on the part of the beſieged

beſieged the diſtreſs was greateſt. The Vitellian ſoldiers, in the moment of difficulty, wanted neither ſkill nor courage. In the oppoſite party the men were ſeized with a panic, and the commander had neither ſpirit nor preſence of mind. Benumbed and torpid, he loſt his powers of ſpeech, and even the faculties of eyes and ears. No reſources in himſelf, he was deaf to the advice of others. Alarmed by every ſudden noiſe, he went forward, he returned; he ordered what he had forbidden, and countermanded what he had ordered. In this diſtraction all directed, and none obeyed. They threw down their arms, and each man began to ſhift for himſelf. They fled, they hid themſelves in lurking-places; the Vitellians burſt in with fire and ſword; A ſcene of carnage followed. A few gallant ſpirits made a brave reſiſtance, and periſhed in the attempt. The moſt diſtinguiſhed were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacenſis, Caſperius Niger, and Didius Scæva: all theſe met their fate with undaunted courage. Flavius Sabinus, without his ſword, and not ſo much as attempting to ſave himſelf by flight, was ſurrounded by a band of the Vitellians. Quinctius Atticus *(a)*, the conſul, was alſo taken priſoner. The enſigns of his magiſtracy diſcovered him to the ſoldiers; and the haughty ſtyle in which he had iſſued ſeveral edicts, in their tenour favourable to Veſpaſian, and injurious to Vitellius, made him an object of reſentment. The reſt by various ſtratagems made their eſcape; ſome in the diſguiſe of ſlaves; others aſſiſted by the fidelity of their friends, and by their care concealed under the baggage. A few, who had caught the military word, by which the Vitellians knew each other, uſed it with confidence in their queſtions and anſwers to all that came in their way. The boldneſs of the experiment ſaved their lives.

LXXIV. Domitian, on the firſt irruption of the beſiegers,

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was conveyed to the apartments of the warden of the temple, and there protected till one of his freedmen had the addreſs to conduct him, clad in a linen veſtment, amidſt the band of ſacrificers, to the place called *Velabrum*, where he lodged him ſafe under the care of Cornelius Primus, a man firmly attached to Veſpaſian. Domitian, during the reign of his father, threw down the warden's lodge, and on the ſame ſpot built a chapel to JUPITER THE CONSERVATOR, with a marble altar, on which the ſtory of his eſcape was engraved at length. Being afterwards inveſted with the imperial dignity, he dedicated a magnificent temple to JUPITER THE GUARDIAN, and a ſtatue repreſenting the god with the young prince in his arms. Sabinus and Quinctius Atticus were conducted in fetters to the preſence of Vitellius. He received them without a word of reproach, or ſo much as an angry look, though the ſoldiers, with rage and vociferation, inſiſted on their right to murder both, demanding, at the ſame time, the reward due to them for their late exploits. The inferior populace, with violent uproar, called for immediate vengeance on Sabinus, not forgetting to mingle with their fury the language of adulation to Vitellius, who endeavoured to addreſs them from the ſtairs of the palace: but the ſtorm was too outrageous. The mob fell upon Sabinus. He died under repeated blows. The aſſaſſins cut off his head, and dragged the mangled body to the common charnel.

LXXV. SUCH was the end of a man who merited a better fate. He had carried arms five-and-thirty years in the ſervice of his country, diſtinguiſhed by his civil and military conduct. His integrity and love of juſtice were never queſtioned. His fault was that of talking too much. In the courſe of ſeven years, during which he adminiſtered the province of Mæſia, and twelve more, while he was governor of Rome, malice itſelf could

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could find no other blemiſh in his character. In the laſt act of his life he was condemned for inactivity and want of ſpirit; others ſaw in his conduct a man of moderation, who wiſhed to prevent the effuſion of Roman blood. Before the elevation of Veſpaſian, all agree that he was the head and ornament of his family. That his fall was matter of joy to Mucianus, ſeems well atteſted. In general, his death was conſidered as an event of public utility, ſince all emulation between two men likely to prove dangerous rivals, one as the emperor's brother, and the other as a colleague in power, was now extinguiſhed. The conſul, Quinctius Atticus, was the next victim demanded by the populace. Vitellius oppoſed their fury. He thought himſelf bound in gratitude to protect a man, who, being interrogated concerning the deſtruction of the capitol, avowed himſelf the author of the misfortune, and by that truth, or well-timed lie, took upon himſelf the whole load of guilt, exonerating the Vitellian party.

LXXVI. DURING theſe tranſactions, Lucius Vitellius, having pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Feronia *(a)*, formed a deſign to ſtorm the city of Tarracina. The garriſon, conſiſting of marines and gladiators, remained pent up within the walls, not daring to ſally out, and face the enemy in the open field. The gladiators, as has been mentioned, were under the command of Julianus, and the marines under that of Apollinaris; two men immerſed in ſloth and luxury, by their vices more like common gladiators, than ſuperior officers. No ſentinels ſtationed, no night-watch to prevent a ſudden alarm, and no care taken to guard the works, they paſſed both day and night in drunken jollity. The windings of that delightful coaſt reſounded with notes of joy, and the ſoldiers were ſpread about the country to provide for the pleaſures of the two commanders, who never

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thought of war except when it became the ſubject over their bottle. Apinius Tiro had left the place a few days before, in order to procure ſupplies for the commanding officers. By exacting preſents and contributions from the municipal towns, he inflamed the prejudices of the people, gaining ill will in every quarter, and for his party no acceſſion of ſtrength.

LXXVII. THINGS remained in this poſture, when a ſlave, belonging to Verginius Capito, deſerted to Lucius Vitellius, with an offer to head a detachment, and, by ſurpriſe, make himſelf maſter of the citadel, unprovided, as it then was, with a ſufficient force to guard the works. His propoſal was accepted. In the dead of night he ſet out with a party of light-armed cohorts, and, having gained the ſummit of the hill, took his ſtation over the heads of the enemy. From that eminence the ſoldiers poured down with impetuous fury, not to a battle, but to a ſcene of carnage and deſtruction. They fell upon a defenceleſs multitude, the greateſt part unarmed, ſome running to ſnatch up their weapons, others ſcarce awake, and all thrown into conſternation by the general uproar, by the darkneſs, the clangor of trumpets, and the ſhouts of the enemy. A few of the gladiators made a brave reſiſtance, and ſold their lives at the deareſt rate. The reſt fled to the ſhips. Terror and confuſion followed them. The peaſants of the neighbourhood were intermixed with the troops, and all together fell in one promiſcuous ſlaughter. In the beginning of the tumult ſix light galleys broke looſe from their moorings. On board of one of them, Apollinaris, the commander of the fleet, made his eſcape. The reſt were either taken, or, by the weight of the crowd that ruſhed on board, ſunk to the bottom. Julianus was conducted to Lucius Vitellius, and, in his preſence, firſt ignominiouſly ſcourged, and then put to death. Triaria, the wife of Lucius, the commanding officer,

was

was accuſed of exulting with pride and cruelty amidſt the carnage that laid waſte the city of Tarracina. She is ſaid to have appeared with a ſword girt by her ſide, adding mockery and inſult to the horrors of that tragic ſcene. The general, to mark ſo brilliant a victory, ſent a letter wreathed with laurel *(a)* to his brother, deſiring, at the ſame time, to know whether he ſhould directly march forward to Rome, or ſtay to finiſh the entire reduction of Campania. The delay was of the greateſt moment, not only to Veſpaſian's party, but to the commonwealth. A fierce and ſavage ſoldiery, flushed with ſucceſs, and to their natural ferocity adding the inſolence of victory, had they been immediately led to Rome, would, beyond all doubt, have renewed the war with dreadful havoc, and, perhaps, the deſtruction of the city. On ſuch an occaſion, Lucius Vitellius was an officer to be dreaded. Though his character was decried and infamous, he wanted neither talents nor vigour of mind. Like all, who ſucceed by proſperous wickedneſs, he had raiſed himſelf to eminence, and what good men obtain by their virtues he accompliſhed by his vices.

LXXVIII. MEANWHILE, Veſpaſian's army, inactive ever ſince their departure from Narnia, loitered away the time at Ocriculum *(a)*, amuſing themſelves with the celebration of the Saturnalian feſtival *(b)*. To wait for the arrival of Mucianus, was the oſtenſible reaſon for this ill-timed delay. Motives of a different nature were imputed to Antonius. Vitellius, it was ſaid, had tampered with him by letters, and, to entice him from his party, promiſed the conſulſhip, and his daughter in marriage, with a ſplendid fortune. With a conſiderable number this accuſation had no kind of weight. They treated it as a mere calumny, the invention of artful men, who wiſhed to pay their court to Mucianus. Many were of opinion, that the whole was a deliberate plan, ſettled by all the general officers, who rather choſe to

alarm

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alarm the city of Rome with diſtant terrors, than to carry deſolation within the walls, eſpecially ſince the ſtrongeſt cohorts had abandoned Vitellius, and that prince, left as he was, without hopes of ſuccour, would probably end the conteſt by a voluntary abdication. This deſign, however wiſe and prudent, was defeated, at firſt, by the raſhneſs, and, in the end, by the irreſolution, of Sabinus. That officer had taken up arms with a ſhew of courage, and yet was not able, againſt ſo ſmall a force as three cohorts, to defend the capitol; a fortreſs ſtrong enough to ſtand the ſhock of powerful armies, and always deemed impregnable. But the truth is, where all were guilty of miſconduct, the blame cannot well be fixed on any one in particular. Mucianus, by the ſtudied ambiguity of his letters, checked the progreſs of the victorious army; and Antonius, by obſequious compliances, or, perhaps, with a deſign to blacken the character of Mucianus, was willing to incur the imputation of inactivity. The reſt of the officers concluded haſtily that the war was ended, and, by that miſtake, occaſioned all the diſaſters that cloſed the ſcene. Even Petilius Cerealis, who had been ſent forward at the head of a thouſand horſe, with orders to proceed by rapid marches through the country of the Sabines, and to enter Rome by the Salarian road *(c)*, did not puſh on with vigour. The chiefs heard, at laſt, that the capitol was beſieged, and that intelligence rouſed them from their lethargy.

LXXIX. ANTONIUS, in the night time, made a forward movement towards the city of Rome. He purſued the Flaminian road, and, by a forced march, arrived at the RED ROCKS *(a)*; but the miſchief had already happened. At that place he received intelligence, that Sabinus was murdered; that the capitol lay ſmoking on the ground; that the populace, joined by the ſlaves, had taken up arms for Vitellius, and that all

Rome was wild with conſternation. At the ſame time, Petilius Cerealis met with a defeat. That general, deſpiſing an enemy, whom he conſidered as already conquered, advanced incautiouſly to attack a party of horſe and infantry. The battle was fought at a ſmall diſtance from Rome, at a place where the land was divided into gardens, interſected by narrow roads, and covered with buildings; a ſpot well known to the Vitellians, but, to men unacquainted with the defiles, every way diſadvantageous. Nor did the cavalry under Cerealis act with unanimity or equal ardour. They had among them a party of the men, who laid down their arms at Narnia, and all of that deſcription waited to ſee the iſſue of the battle. Tullius Flavianus, who commanded a ſquadron of Veſpaſian's horſe, was taken priſoner. The reſt fled with precipitation. The conquering troops purſued the runaways as far as Fidenæ *(b)*.

LXXX. The ſucceſs of the Vitellians in this engagement inſpired the partiſans at Rome with new courage. The populace had recourſe to arms. A few were provided with ſhields; the reſt ſnatched up whatever weapons fell in their way. With one voice they demanded the ſignal for the attack. Vitellius commended their zeal, and ordered them to exert themſelves in the defence of the city. In the mean time he convened the ſenate. The fathers ſent ambaſſadors to the ſeveral chiefs, with inſtructions to propoſe, in the name of the commonwealth, a plan of pacification. The deputies, choſen for this purpoſe, were variouſly received. In the camp of Petilius Cerealis they were in danger of their lives. The ſoldiers diſdained all terms of accommodation, and, in their fury, attacked the ambaſſadors. The prætor Arulenus Ruſticus *(a)* was wounded. By this outrage the rights of ambaſſadors were violated, and, in the perſonal dignity of the man, virtue itſelf was inſulted. The attendants in his train

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train were obliged to fly. The lictor, who attempted to open a paſſage through the crowd, was murdered on the ſpot; and, if the guard, appointed by Cerealis, had not interpoſed in time, the law of nations, ever reſpected by the moſt hoſtile ſtates, had been trampled under foot, and the ambaſſadors, in the face of their country, under the very walls of Rome, muſt have fallen victims to the brutal rage of frantic men. The deputies, who went to the camp of Antonius, met with a more gentle reception; but were indebted for it, not to the pacific temper of the ſoldiers, but to the authority of the commander in chief.

LXXXI. It happened that Muſonius Rufus *(a)*, a Roman knight, followed in the train of the ambaſſadors. He profeſſed himſelf devoted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and in particular to the doctrines of the ſtoic ſect. Full of his boaſted ſyſtem, he mixed among the ſoldiers, and, reaſoning much concerning good and evil, began a diſſertation on the bleſſings of peace, and the calamities of war. Men under arms, and fierce with victory, were not likely to reliſh a moral lecture. His pedantry tired the patience of the ſoldiers, and became a ſubject of ridicule. The philoſopher was in danger of being roughly treated, if the advice of the more conſiderate, and the menaces of others, had not taught him to ſuppreſs his ill-timed maxims of wiſdom.

The veſtal virgins *(b)* went in proceſſion to the camp, with letters from Vitellius addreſſed to Antonius, in ſubſtance requeſting a ceſſation of arms for a ſingle day. In the interval a compromiſe might take place, and prevent the havoc of deciſive action. The veſtal train received every mark of reſpect. An anſwer in writing was ſent to Vitellius, informing him, that the murder of Sabinus, and the deſtruction of the capitol, made all terms of accommodation inadmiſſible.

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LXXXII. ANTONIUS, in the mean time, called an aſſembly of the ſoldiers, and, in a ſoothing ſpeech, endeavoured to infuſe into their minds a ſpirit of moderation. He adviſed them to encamp at the Milvian bridge *(a)*, and not to think of entering Rome till the next day. An enraged ſoldiery, forcing their way ſword in hand, he had reaſon to fear, would ruſh on with impetuous fury, and give no quarter to the people or the ſenate. Even the temples and altars of the gods might fall in one promiſcuous ruin. But the impatience of the army was not to be reſtrained. Eager for victory, they thought themſelves ruined by delay. A diſplay of colours and enſigns was ſeen glittering on the hills, followed, indeed, by an undiſciplined rabble, but the appearance announced the preparations of an enemy. The conquerors advanced in three diviſions; the firſt, from their ſtation on the Flaminian road; the ſecond marched along the banks of the Tiber; and the third, towards the gate Collina, by the Salarian way. On the firſt onſet the mob was put to flight by the cavalry. The Vitellian ſoldiers ranged themſelves in three columns. The entrance of the city was obſtinately diſputed. Several ſharp engagements followed before the walls, with various ſucceſs, but, for the moſt part, favourable to Veſpaſian's men, ſupported as they were by able officers. A party wheeled round to the left ſide of the city, towards the Salluſtian gardens, and, being engaged in ſlippery and narrow paſſes, were roughly handled. The Vitellians had taken poſſeſſion of the gardens, and, from the top of the walls, were able, with ſtones and ſpears, to annoy the troops beneath them. The advantage was on their ſide, till, towards the cloſe of day, a party of Veſpaſian's cavalry forced their way through the Collinian gate, and fell upon the enemy in the rear. A battle was alſo fought in the field of Mars. The good fortune, that hitherto attended Veſpaſian's cauſe, gave him a decided victory. The Vitellians fought with obſtinacy to

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the laſt. Deſpair lent them courage. Though diſperſed and routed, they rallied within the walls of the city, and once more returned to the charge.

LXXXIII. The people flocked in crowds to behold the conflict, as if a ſcene of carnage were no more than a public ſpectacle exhibited for their amuſement. Whenever they ſaw the advantage inclining to either ſide, they favoured the combatants with ſhouts, and theatrical applauſe. If the men fled from their ranks, to take ſhelter in ſhops or houſes, they roared to have them dragged forth, and put to death like gladiators for their diverſion. While the ſoldiers were intent on ſlaughter, theſe miſcreants were employed in plundering. The greateſt part of the booty fell to their ſhare. Rome preſented a ſcene truly ſhocking, a medley of ſavage ſlaughter and monſtrous vice; in one place war and deſolation; in another, bathing, riot, and debauchery. Heaps of ſlain lay weltering in the ſtreets, and blood flowed in torrents, while harlots and abandoned women wandered about with laſcivious impudence. Whatever the libidinous paſſions can inſpire in the hour of peace, was intermixed with all the horrors of war, of ſlaughter and deſtruction. The whole city ſeemed to be inflamed with frantic rage, and, at the ſame time, intoxicated with bacchanalian pleaſures. Before this period, Rome had ſeen enraged armies within her walls; twice under Sylla *(a)*, and once after the victory obtained by Cinna. Upon thoſe occaſions the ſame barbarity was committed; but the unnatural ſecurity and inhuman indifference, that now prevailed, were beyond all example. In the midſt of rage and maſſacre, pleaſure knew no intermiſſion. A dreadful carnage ſeemed to be a ſpectacle added to the public games. The populace enjoyed the havoc; they exulted in the midſt of devaſtation; and, without any regard for the contending parties, triumphed over the miſeries of their country.

5 LXXXIV. Ves-

LXXXIV. VESPASIAN'S party had now conquered every thing but the camp *(a)*. That difficult and arduous taſk ſtill remained. The braveſt of the Vitellians were ſtill in poſſeſſion. They conſidered it as their laſt reſort, and were therefore determined to make a vigorous ſtand. The conquering troops advanced with determined fury to the attack, and the old prætorian cohorts with inflamed reſentment. Whatever the military art had invented againſt places of the greateſt ſtrength, was employed by the aſſailants. They advanced under the ſhell; they threw up mounds; they diſcharged miſſive weapons and flaming torches; "all declaring aloud, that one glorious effort would put "an end to their toil and danger. To the ſenate and people of "Rome they had reſtored their city, and to the gods their altars "and their temples. It now remained to gain poſſeſſion of the "camp, the ſoldier's poſt of honour, his country, and the ſeat of "his houſehold gods. They muſt either carry the entrenchments "by aſſault, or paſs the night under arms." The ſpirit of the Vitellians was broken, but not ſubdued. To ſell the victory at the deareſt rate, and delay the return of peace, was the laſt effort of expiring rage; and to ſtain the houſes and altars with an effuſion of blood, was the laſt conſolation of deſpair. The towers and ramparts were covered with heaps of ſlain. The gates of the camp were forced. The few that ſtill ſurvived had the courage to maintain their poſt. They fell under honourable wounds, prodigal of life, and to the laſt tenacious of their glory.

LXXXV. VITELLIUS, ſeeing the city conquered, went in a litter, by a private way at the back of the palace, to his wife's houſe on mount Aventine, with intent, if he could lie concealed during the reſt of the day, to fly for refuge to his brother and he cohorts under his command at Tarracina. His natural irreſolution returned upon him. He dreaded every thing, and,

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with the uſual diſtraction of fear, what was preſent alarmed him moſt. He returned to his palace, and found it a melancholy deſert. His ſlaves had made their eſcape, or ſhunned the preſence of their maſter. Silence added to the terror of the ſcene. He opened the doors of his apartments, and ſtood aghaſt at the dreary ſolitude. All was deſolation round him. He wandered from room to room, till his heart ſunk within him. Weary, at length, of his wretched condition, he choſe a diſgraceful lurking-place *(a)*, and there lay hid with abject fear, till Julius Placidus, the tribune of a cohort, dragged him forth. With his hands bound behind him, and his garment torn, he was conducted, a wretched ſpectacle, through crowds inſulting his diſtreſs, and not a friend to pity his misfortunes. A cataſtrophe ſo mean and deſpicable moved no paſſion but contempt. A German ſoldier *(b)*, either in wrath, or to end his miſery, ſtruck at him with his ſabre, and, miſſing his aim, cut off the ear of a tribune. Whether his deſign was againſt that officer, cannot now be known. For his attempt he periſhed on the ſpot. Vitellius was dragged along amidſt the ſcoffs and inſults of the rabble. With ſwords pointed at his throat, they forced him to raiſe his head, and expoſe his countenance to ſcorn and deriſion; they made him look at his ſtatues tumbling to the ground; they pointed to the place of public harangues, and ſhewed him the ſpot where Galba periſhed. In this manner they hurried him to the charnel *(c)*, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had been thrown amongſt the vileſt malefactors. An expreſſion fell from him, in the laſt extremity, that beſpoke a mind not utterly deſtitute of ſentiment. A tribune inſulted him in his miſery; "and "yet," ſaid Vitellius, "I have been your ſovereign." He died ſoon after under repeated wounds. The populace, who had worſhipped him in the zenith of his power, continued, after his

death, with the ſame depravity, to treat his remains with every mark of ſcorn and inſolence.

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LXXXVI. He was the ſon, as already mentioned, of Lucius Vitellius, and had completed the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. He roſe to the conſulſhip, to pontifical dignities, and a name and rank among the moſt eminent citizens, without induſtry or perſonal merit. The ſplendid reputation of the father *(a)* laid open the road to honours for the ſon. The men who raiſed him to the imperial dignity, did not ſo much as know him. By his vices, and luxurious eaſe, he gained an aſcendant over the affections of the army, to a degree rarely attained by the virtue of the ableſt generals. Simplicity, frankneſs, and generoſity muſt not be denied to him; but thoſe qualities, when not under the curb of diſcretion, are always equivocal, and often ruinous. He endeavoured to conciliate friendſhips, not by his virtues, but by boundleſs liberality, and no wonder if he miſſed his aim: he deſerved friends, but never had them. That his power ſhould be overturned, was, no doubt, the intereſt of the commonwealth; but the men, who figured in that important ſcene, could claim no merit with Veſpaſian, ſince, with equal verſatility, they had been traitors to Galba.

The day being far ſpent, and the fathers and chief magiſtrates having either fled from the city in a panic, or concealed themſelves in the houſes of their friends, the ſenate could not be aſſembled. The rage of ſlaughter being appeaſed, and all hoſtilities ceaſing, Domitian preſented himſelf before the leaders of the party. He was ſaluted by the title of Cæſar, and a band of ſoldiers under arms conducted him to his father's houſe.

END OF BOOK III.

THE

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OF

TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

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TERA. XIX. *Some cohorts of the Caninefates and Batavians, on their march to Rome, drawn over by Civilis to his party. They return in ſpite of Hordeonius Flaccus towards the Lower Germany, and defeat the Romans at Bonn.* XXI. *Civilis, to conceal his real deſign, pretends to eſpouſe the cauſe of Veſpaſian.* XXII. *He lays ſiege to the old camp called* VETERA. XXIV. *Hordeonius Flaccus driven from his command by a mutiny in his camp: he reſigns his authority to Vocula.* XXVI. *Herennius Gallus aſſociated with Vocula. The army encamps at Gelduba. A ſhip loaded with corn drawn away from the Romans to the oppoſite bank of the Rhine. Herennius Gallus receives violent blows from his own ſoldiers, and is thrown into priſon, but releaſed by Vocula.* XXIX. *Civilis attempts in the night-time to ſtorm the old camp.* XXXI. *By letters from Antonius the Romans receive intelligence of the victory at Cremona. The auxiliaries from Gaul renounce the cauſe of Vitellius. Hordeonius Flaccus enforces the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian.* XXXII. *Montanus, who commanded a Vitellian cohort at Cremona, is ſent to Civilis to require that chief to lay down his arms. Civilis inflames the turbulent ſpirit of Montanus.* XXXIII. *Civilis ſends a detachment againſt Vocula. A battle is fought, proſperous at firſt on the ſide of the Germans. The Romans prevail at laſt. Vocula makes no uſe of his victory.* XXXVI. *Civilis makes himſelf maſter of Gelduba. A freſh ſedition among the Romans. The ſoldiers murder Hordeonius Flaccus. Vocula in the diſguiſe of a ſlave makes his eſcape.* XXXVII. *Vocula reſumes the command, and marches to raiſe the ſiege of Magontiacum. The Treverians revolt to Civilis.* XXXVIII. *Tranſactions at Rome. Veſpaſian and Titus declared conſuls in their abſence. A famine dreaded at Rome, and Africa ſuppoſed to be in arms.* XXXIX. *Domitian prætor. Mucianus jealous of Antonius Primus, and Arrius Varus. He leſſens the power of both. Part of the army*

ordered back to Germany, and tranquillity thereby reſtored at Rome. XL. *Honour done to the memory of Galba. Muſonius Rufus renews his accuſation againſt Publius Celer. Celer condemned.* XLII. *Meſſala intercedes for his brother Aquilius Regulus, a notorious informer. Curtius Montanus makes a vehement ſpeech againſt Regulus.* XLIII. *Eprius Marcellus is again attacked by Helvidius Priſcus. Domitian propoſes a general oblivion of all paſt grievances. A few offenders ordered to return to their place of exile.* XLV. *A ſenator complains of having been beat by the inhabitants of Sienna. The guilty brought to Rome, and puniſhed.* XLVI. *A violent ſedition among the prætorian bands quelled by Mucianus. The order of ſucceſſion to the conſulſhip eſtabliſhed by Vitellius declared void. The funeral of Flavius Sabinus performed with the honours uſually paid to the rank of cenſor.* XLVIII. *Aſſaſſination of Lucius Piſo in Africa.* L. *War between the Æeuſians and the people of Leptis prevented by Feſtus, the commander of the legions. The Garamantes put to flight.* LI. *Veſpaſian informed of the death of Vitellius. Succours offered by the Parthian king, but refuſed.* LII. *Veſpaſian exaſperated by the accounts of Domitian's conduct at Rome. Titus endeavours to mitigate the anger of his father, and ſets out to conduct the war againſt the Jews.* LIII. *The rebuilding of the capitol entruſted to Lucius Veſtinus.* LIV. *Two wars at once in Germany and Gaul, occaſioned by the death of Vitellius. Civilis avows his hoſtile intentions. The Treverians and Lingones revolt from the Romans, under the influence of Claſſicus, Tutor, and Julius Sabinus. The other ſtates of Gaul on the point of revolting.* LVIII. *Vocula haraugues his ſoldiers. He is ſlain by an emiſſary ſent by Claſſicus. The ſoldiers declare for the empire of the Gauls.* LX. *The legions, beſieged in the old camp, ſubmit in like manner to the Gauls.* LXI. *Vow of Civilis to let his beard grow: after the defeat of the legions, he thinks his vow complete.*

plete. He is said to have given certain Roman prisoners to his infant son, to divert himself with shooting arrows at them. He sends presents to Veleda, the German prophetess; Marcus Lupercus, sent to her as a present; he is killed on the road. Veleda had foretold the destruction of the legions, and her authority increases throughout Germany. LXII. *The captive legions march in a dismal procession from Novesium to the Treverian territories. Magnanimous behaviour of the Picentinian squadron of horse.* LXIII. *The Agrippinian colony in danger from the nations beyond the Rhine.* LXVI. *Civilis gives battle to Claudius Labio; and, having routed him, receives the Batavians and Tungrians under his protection.* LXVII. *The Lingones defeated by the Sequanians. Julius Sabinus, the Lingonian chief, escapes, and lives in subterraneous caves for nine years afterwards. The memorable constancy of his wife, Eponina.* LXVIII. *At Rome the empire thought to be in danger. Mucianus and Domitian prepare to set out for Gaul. The Gauls call a general assembly of the states. They prefer peace to the dangers of war.* LXX. *Civilis and Tutor differ in their opinions about the conduct of the war. Classicus agrees with Tutor, and they resolve to hazard a battle.* LXXI. *Petilius Cerealis arrives at Magontiacum. He gains a complete victory over the Treverians at Rigodulum, on the banks of the Moselle. Valentinus, the Treverian chief, taken prisoner.* LXXII. *The legions, that had revolted, return to their duty, and are received into the Roman camp.* LXXIII. *Cerealis receives the Treverians and Lingones under his protection.* LXXV. *Cerealis gives battle to Civilis and Classicus: the beginning of the conflict doubtful, but the issue favourable to the Romans.* LXXIX. *The Agrippinians desert the cause of the Germans.* LXXX. *Mucianus orders the son of Vitellius to be put to death. Antonius Primus, resenting the behaviour of Mucianus, proceeds to Vespasian, but is not well received.*

LXXXI. *Miracles performed by Veſpaſian at Alexandria. He viſits the temple of Serapis.* LXXXIII. *An account of the origin, and ſuperſtitious worſhip paid by the Ægyptians to that god.* LXXXV. *Near the foot of the Alps Valentinus is brought a priſoner before Mucianus and Domitian. He is condemned to die. The firmneſs with which he meets his fate.* LXXXVI. *Domitian arrives at Lyons. He attempts to prevail on Cerealis to reſign the command of the army in Germany. His diſſimulation, and pretended love of ſtudious retirement, the better to hide his real paſſions.*

Theſe tranſactions paſſed partly during the civil war between Veſpaſian and Vitellius, in the year of Rome 822 ; *and partly after the elevation of Veſpaſian, in the*

Year of Rome	of Chriſt		
823	70	*Flavius Veſpaſianus* *Titus, his Son*	} Conſuls.

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I. THOUGH the war, by the death of Vitellius, was completely ended, peace was by no means eſtabliſhed. The victorious troops, with minds envenomed, fierce and unrelenting, continued prowling about the ſtreets of Rome in queſt of the Vitellians. Every part of the city preſented a ſcene of carnage; the forum and the temples were dyed with blood, and all, who fell in the way of the conquerors, were put to the ſword without diſtinction. From the ſtreets and public places the ſoldiers ruſhed into private houſes, and, in their fury, dragged forth the unhappy victims. Whoever was grown up to manhood, citizen or ſoldier, was butchered on the ſpot. The fury of the men was at length glutted with blood, and the love of plunder ſucceeded. Nothing was

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was ſuffered to remain concealed, nothing unviolated. Under colour of detecting the partiſans of Vitellius, they broke open every ſecret receſs in queſt of booty. Houſes were pillaged, and all, who attempted to reſiſt, died by the edge of the ſword. The vile and indigent joined in the fray; ſlaves diſcovered the wealth of their maſters; and numbers ſuffered by the treachery of their friends. The groans of deſpair were heard in every quarter, and Rome was filled with all the horrors of a city taken by ſtorm. In compariſon with the preſent barbarity, the people regretted the licentiouſneſs of the Othonian and Vitellian ſoldiers. The leading chiefs, who had ſucceeded ſo well in kindling the flame of war, had now no authority to check the inſolence of victory. In the hour of tumult and public diſtraction, the bold and deſperate take the lead; peace and good order are the work of virtue and ability.

II. DOMITIAN fixed his reſidence in the imperial palace, enjoying the name of Cæſar, but without aſpiring to a ſhare in the cares of government. Riot and debauchery gave the firſt impreſſion of the emperor's ſon. The command of the prætorian bands was aſſigned to Arrius Varus, while the ſupreme authority reſted with Antonius, who, in haſte to enrich himſelf, ſeized the treaſure and the ſlaves of the prince, as if they were the ſpoils of Cremona. The other officers, who, through their own moderation or want of ſpirit, were undiſtinguiſhed during the war, remained in obſcurity, unnoticed, and unrewarded. The people, ſtill in conſternation, and ready to crouch in ſervitude, expreſſed their wiſhes that Lucius Vitellius, then advancing with the cohorts from Tarracina, might be intercepted on his march, in order, by that blow, to end the war. The cavalry was ſent forward to Aricia *(a)*, and the legions took their ſtation at Bovillæ *(b)*. But Lucius Vitellius was no longer diſpoſed to maintain the conflict. He

and his cohorts ſurrendered at diſcretion. The ſoldiers, abandoning an unfortunate cauſe, laid down their arms with indignation rather than fear. They entered the city of Rome in a long diſmal proceſſion, guarded on each ſide by a file of troops under arms. In their looks no ſign of repentance, no dejected paſſion; they retained an air of ferocity, and heard the taunts of the vulgar with ſullen contempt. A few broke from their ranks to repreſs the inſolence of the populace, but were overpowered by numbers. The reſt were ſecured in priſon. Not a word eſcaped from any of them unworthy of their warlike character. They were unfortunate, but ſtill reſpected for their valour. Lucius Vitellius was put to death. In vice and profligacy he was equal to his brother; in vigour and induſtry, his ſuperior; by the ſplendour of ſucceſs no way benefited; in the day of adverſity, a ſharer in the general ruin.

III. CAMPANIA was ſtill in agitation. The diſturbances in that country were not ſo much occaſioned by a ſpirit of oppoſition to the new prince, as by the internal diſſenſions of the municipal cities, all at variance among themſelves. To compoſe thoſe differences, and reſtore public tranquillity, Lucilius Baſſus *(a)* was diſpatched with a party of light-armed cavalry. On the firſt appearance of a military force, a perfect calm ſucceeded. The cities of inferior note were treated with indulgence; but the third legion was ſtationed in winter quarters at Capua, in order to bridle the principal families, who, by conſequence, felt the weight of oppreſſion. To the ſufferers at Tarracina no relief was extended; ſo true it is, that men are more willing to retaliate an injury, than to requite an obligation *(b)*: obligation implies a debt, which is a painful ſenſation; by a ſtroke of revenge ſomething is thought to be gained. The people of Tarracina ſaw the ſlave of Verginius Capito, who, as already

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ready mentioned, betrayed them to the enemy, hanging on a gibbet, with the rings on his fingers, which he received from Vitellius as the reward of his perfidy. That act of juſtice was all that was done to aſſuage the ſorrows of a city in diſtreſs.

At Rome, in the mean time, the ſenate, conceiving hopes of the new eſtabliſhment, decreed to Veſpaſian all the honours which cuſtom had hitherto granted to the reigning prince. The flame of war, which firſt broke out in Spain and Gaul, and, after ſpreading into Germany and Illyricum, blazed out in Egypt, Judæa, and Syria, involving the ſeveral provinces and armies of the empire, ſeemed at length, by a ſevere luſtration, to have expiated the crimes of mankind. The joy, occaſioned by that pleaſing proſpect, was heightened by letters from Veſpaſian, though, by the contents it did not appear that he knew the iſſue of the war. As if that event had not yet reached his ear, he wrote in the ſtyle and language of an emperor: of himſelf he ſpoke with moderation; of the commonwealth with pomp and dignity. Nor was the ſenate backward in demonſtrations of obſequious duty. They decreed the conſulſhip to Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus. Domitian was made *(c)* prætor with conſular authority.

IV. MUCIANUS had alſo thought fit to write to the ſenate. His letters gave room for various reflections. Men obſerved, "If he was ſtill a private citizen, why aſpire above his rank *(a)*, "and uſurp the prerogative of the ſovereign? What he had to "communicate, might have been reſerved, till he took his ſeat "in the ſenate. His ſtrain of invective againſt Vitellius came too "late, and, after that emperor's death, gave no proof of ardour "in the cauſe of liberty. His vain-glorious boaſt, that, having "the ſovereign power in his own diſpoſal, he reſigned it to Veſ-"paſian, was deemed an inſult to the commonwealth, and, as far

"as it related to the prince, highly arrogant." But the ſenate acted with diſſimulation; they murmured in private, and ſpoke aloud the language of flattery. They decreed triumphal decorations to Mucianus, in fact for his conduct in the civil war; but his expedition againſt the Sarmatians *(b)* was the oſtenſible reaſon. The conſular ornaments were voted to Antonius Primus, and the prætorian to Cornelius Fuſcus and Arrius Varus.

The gratitude due to the gods was the next object of their care. They reſolved to rebuild the capitol. The ſeveral motions were made by Valerius Aſiaticus, conſul elect. The fathers in general ſignified their aſſent by a nod of approbation, or by holding up their hands. A few, who valued themſelves for their rank and dignity, or, by their eloquence were able to give new graces to adulation, made elaborate ſpeeches. Helvidius Priſcus, prætor elect, delivered his ſentiments in a manly ſtrain. His ſpeech was the panegyric of a virtuous prince, without a tincture of flattery. He was heard with applauſe by the whole aſſembly; and yet that day, ſo truly illuſtrious, may be called the firſt of his danger as well as glory.

V. As we ſhall have frequent occaſion, in the courſe of our hiſtory, to ſpeak of this excellent man *(a)*, it may be proper, in this place, to touch the features of his character, his conduct in life, and the fortune that attended him. Helvidius Priſcus was born in the municipal city of Tarracina. His father, Cluvius, was a centurion of principal rank. Bleſſed with talents and an early genius, Helvidius applied himſelf to ſpeculations of the ſublimeſt kind; not with a deſign, as many have done, to grace a life of indolence with the name of abſtract philoſophy, but to bring with him into public buſineſs a mind provided with ſcience, and prepared to meet every danger. He adopted the

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tenets of thoſe philoſophers, who maintain, that nothing can be deemed an evil but vice; and nothing a poſitive good, but what is fair and honourable; who place in the claſs of things indifferent all external advantages, and conſider power, wealth, and nobility as foreign to the ſoul, mere adventitious circumſtances, in themſelves equivocal, neither good nor evil. He had riſen no higher than the quæſtorian rank, when Pætus Thraſea *(b)* gave him his daughter in marriage. Of all the virtues of his father-in-law he imbibed none ſo deeply, as the ſpirit of liberty, which animated that extraordinary man. He performed the relative duties of every ſtation with the ſtricteſt attention; citizen, ſenator, huſband, friend, and ſon-in-law, he diſcharged all parts with equal luſtre; deſpiſing riches; in the cauſe of truth inflexible, and, when danger threatened, erect and firm.

VI. The love of fame was by ſome objected to him as his ſtrongeſt motive, his ruling paſſion. But the love of fame, it ſhould be remembered, is often the incentive of the wiſe and good, the great principle of the noble mind, and the laſt which it reſigns *(a)*. When his father-in-law fell a victim to his enemies, Helvidius was driven into exile; but, being afterwards recalled by Galba *(b)*, he ſtood forth the accuſer of Eprius Marcellus, the informer *(c)*, who wrought the downfal of Pætus Thraſea. By that vindictive meaſure, as bold as it was juſt, the ſenate was divided into contending factions. The ruin of Marcellus, it was clearly ſeen, would draw after it the whole legion of informers. The cauſe, however, went on, ſupported on both ſides with equal ardour, and conſummate eloquence. Galba balanced between the parties, and the leading ſenators interpoſed to end the conteſt. At their requeſt, Helvidius deſiſted from the proſecution. His conduct, as uſual, underwent various conſtructions; ſome commending the moderation of his temper, while others

condemned him for his want of firmneſs. The day at length arrived, when the ſenate met *(d)* to confirm the imperial dignity to Veſpaſian. It was agreed that deputies ſhould be ſent to congratulate the prince on his acceſſion. In the debate upon this occaſion, a ſharp conflict enſued between Helvidius Priſcus and Eprius Marcellus. The former propoſed that the ambaſſadors ſhould be named by magiſtrates ſworn for the purpoſe. The latter was for drawing the names by lot, as had been propoſed by Valerius Aſiaticus, the conſul elect, who firſt moved in the buſineſs.

VII. MARCELLUS contended the point with force and vehemence. If an open election took place, he dreaded the diſgrace of being rejected. The diſpute, at firſt, was carried on in ſhort, but paſſionate, onſets; from altercation it roſe to the form of regular ſpeeches. "Why," ſaid Helvidius, "does Marcellus decline "the judgment of the magiſtrates? The influence of wealth is "on his ſide; the fame of eloquence gives him great advantages; "but, perhaps, the memory of his guilt is not yet effaced. By "drawing names out of an urn, no diſtinction of character is "made. The mode of open ſuffrages is an appeal to the judg-"ment of the ſenate, and, in that way of proceeding, the fame "and morals of men are brought to the teſt. It is for the in-"tereſt of the community, and the honour of the prince, that "ſuch as approach him on ſo important an event, ſhould be "choſen with diſcrimination, men of fair integrity, who are "known to carry with them ſentiments and principles worthy "of the imperial ear. Veſpaſian had been, heretofore, in habits "of friendſhip with Thraſea, with Soranus, and Sentius *(a)*; and if "the informers, who ruined thoſe excellent men, are not to ſuffer "the puniſhment due to their crimes, let them not expect, in "the opening of a new reign, to play the firſt characters in the

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" ſtate. By the choice of the ſenate, the prince would ſee a line " of diſtinction between the men, whom he may ſafely truſt, and " ſuch, as deſerve to be removed for ever from his preſence. Vir- " tuous friends are the true ſupport of an upright government. " Marcellus may reſt ſatisfied with the exploits of his life: he " incited Nero to the murder of the moſt illuſtrious citizens; that " was his victory; let him enjoy the rewards of his guilt; let " him triumph with impunity; but let him leave Veſpaſian to " better men than himſelf."

VIII. MARCELLUS obſerved in reply, " that the motion, which " was oppoſed with ſo much warmth, did not originate with " himſelf. It was propoſed by the conſul elect, in conformity to " ancient precedents *(a)*, by which, to prevent intrigue and cabal, " the choice of ambaſſadors had been wiſely left to be decided by " lot. And is there now any reaſon to warrant a departure from " a ſyſtem ſo long eſtabliſhed, with intent, under colour of doing " honour to the prince, to give a ſtab to the character of indivi- " duals? To pay due homage to the prince, was competent to " all without diſtinction. The danger to be apprehended, at " preſent, is, that by the ſullen humour of diſcontented men, an " impreſſion may be made on the mind of an emperor, new to " the cares of ſtate, and for that reaſon jealous of all, balancing " their words, and forming a judgment of their looks and moſt " frivolous actions. For himſelf, he knew the temper of the " times in which he lived, nor was he a ſtranger to the form of " government eſtabliſhed by the old republic: he admired the " paſt, and ſubmitted to the preſent ſyſtem, wiſhing, at all times, " for a race of virtuous princes, but willing to acquieſce under the " worſt. The fall of Thraſea could not, with any colour of " reaſon, be imputed to him *(b)*: the fathers heard the cauſe, " and pronounced judgment againſt him. Nero, it was well " known,

" known, amuſed mankind with a ſhew of juſtice, while, under " the forms of law, he practiſed the moſt unrelenting cruelty. " Nor did others ſuffer more by the pains and penalties of exile, " than he himſelf had felt from the dangerous friendſhip of that " emperor. Let Helvidius, if he will have it ſo, be ranked with " Cato and with Brutus; in courage and unſhaken fortitude let " him rival thoſe exalted worthies: for himſelf, he pretended to " be no more than one of that very ſenate, which ſubmitted with " paſſive obedience to the reigning prince. But if he might " preſume to adviſe Helvidius, he would caution him not to " aſpire above his ſovereign, nor affect, with airs of ſuperior wiſ- " dom, to give dogmatical leſſons to a prince advanced in years, " who had gained triumphal honours, and was the father of two " princes flouriſhing in the prime of life. For though it be true, " that deſpotic power is the conſtant aim of the worſt princes; it " is equally true, that liberty, without due limitations, is never " agreeable even to the beſt." Such were the arguments urged on both ſides. The fathers heard the debate with divided ſentiments. The party, that inclined to the old practice of drawing the names by lot, prevailed in the end, ſupported, as they were, by the moſt illuſtrious members, who foreſaw the danger of giving umbrage to numbers, if the choice was decided by a majority of voices.

IX. This debate was followed by another no leſs warm and ſpirited. The prætors, who, at that time, conducted the department of the treaſury *(a)*, after giving a gloomy picture of the diſtreſs and poverty of the ſtate, propoſed a plan of public œconomy. The conſul elect oppoſed the motion. The buſineſs, he ſaid, was in itſelf of ſo much magnitude, and the remedy ſo nice and difficult, that the queſtion ought to be reſerved for the conſideration of the prince. Helvidius Priſcus was of a contrary opinion.

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opinion. To make new regulations, he contended, was the duty and the province of the ſenate. The conſuls put the queſtion, and were proceeding to collect the votes, when Volcatius Tertullinus, a tribune of the people, interpoſed his authority, that in ſo arduous a buſineſs nothing might be determined in the abſence of the emperor. Helvidius had moved another reſolution, importing that the capitol ſhould be rebuilt by the public, with the voluntary aid of Veſpaſian. No debate enſued. Men of moderation wiſhed to give their ſilent negative, and conſign the motion to oblivion: but certain buſy memories hoarded it up for a future day *(b)*.

X. Musonius Rufus *(a)* took this opportunity to fall on Publius Celer *(b)*, whom he charged with having, by falſe teſtimony, taken away the life of Bareas Soranus *(c)*. A proſecution of this kind tended to revive the reſentments of the public againſt the whole race of informers; but an offender ſo vile, and ſo deteſted, could not be ſcreened from juſtice. The memory of Soranus was held in veneration, and in the conduct of Celer there were circumſtances that aggravated his crime. Profeſſing to be a teacher of wiſdom and philoſophy, he took up the trade of an informer. He affected to explain the laws of friendſhip, and, in open violation of his own rules, became a traitor to the pupil, whom it was his duty to protect. The cauſe was appointed to be heard at the next meeting of the ſenate. In the mean time the minds of men were eager with expectation, not only to ſee Muſonius and Publius Celer engaged in a public controverſy, but alſo to behold Helvidius Priſcus returning to the charge againſt Eprius Marcellus, and the reſt of that deteſted crew.

XI. In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, when the ſenate was divided into factions; when a ruined party ſtill breathed reſentment,

ment, and the conquerors were without authority; when no law was in force, and no ſovereign at the head of the government; Mucianus entered the city, and ſoon engroſſed into his own hands the whole power of the ſtate. The influence of Antonius, with that of Arrius Varus, vaniſhed at once. Mucianus, harbouring ſecret animoſity, amuſed them with a ſpecious ſhew of friendſhip; but a fair face could not diſguiſe the malice of his heart. The people of Rome, ever quick to diſcern the ſpirit of parties, transferred their homage to Mucianus. He was now the riſing ſun. All degrees and ranks of men paid court to him alone. Mucianus, on his part, omitted nothing that could add to the grandeur of his appearance. He appeared in public attended by guards; he removed from one palace to another, and reſorted to different gardens: his train, his equipage, and his pompous diſplay announced the ambition of the man. He aſſumed the majeſty of empire, renouncing the title only. His firſt act of power ſtruck a general terror. He ordered Calpurnius Galerianus *(a)* to be put to death. The unfortunate victim was the ſon of Caius Piſo. His popularity, his youth, and the graces of his perſon, were his only crimes. In a city like Rome, ſtill in agitation, prone to change, and liſtening with greedy ears to every rumour, Calpurnius was marked out, by the diſcourſe of ſhallow politicians, as a perſon likely to ſucceed to the ſovereign power. By order of Mucianus he was taken into cuſtody, and, under a military guard, conveyed to a place forty miles diſtant on the Appian road. His veins were there opened, and he bled to death. Mucianus did not chooſe to hazard ſo tragical a ſcene in the city of Rome. Julius Priſcus, who commanded the prætorian bands under Vitellius, without any urgent neceſſity, but conſcious of various iniquities, diſpatched himſelf with his own hand. Alphenus Varus preferred a life of diſgrace and infamy. Aſiaticus, the freedman *(b)*, ſuffered the puniſhment of common ſlaves, and,

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and, by that ignominious end, made atonement for the abuſe of his ill-gotten power.

XII. About this period, the report which had prevailed for ſome time, of a dreadful defeat in Germany, was confirmed by freſh advices. The news made no impreſſion at Rome. Men talked with calm indifference of the revolt of the provinces in Gaul, of the ſlaughter of armies, and of legions ſtormed in their winter-quarters. Diſtant events were not conſidered as calamities. The flame of war being kindled in Germany, the occaſion requires that we here explain the cauſes of that convulſion, which involved the allies of Rome, and armed whole nations of barbarians againſt the Roman empire.

The Batavians *(a)*, while they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the people, called the Cattians. Driven from their native country by inteſtine commotions, they ſettled on a waſte tract of land bordering on the confines of Gaul, and, at the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of an iſland waſhed at the northern extremity by the ocean, and at the back, and on both ſides, by two branches of the Rhine. They formed a treaty of alliance with the Romans, and did not ſuffer by their friendſhip. A ſupply of men and arms was the whole of their contribution. In the wars in Germany they learned to be ſoldiers. They paſſed afterwards into Britain *(b)*, under the command of their own chiefs (according to their peculiar cuſtom), and added new laurels to their former fame. In their own country they maintained a choſen body of cavalry, ſo expert in the art of ſwimming, that, in whole ſquadrons, incumbered with their arms, and moving in regular order, they could daſh acroſs the current of the Rhine.

XIII. The leading chieftains of the nation were Julius Paulus and

and Claudius Civilis *(a)*, both of royal deſcent. The former, under a falſe charge of rebellion, was put to death by Fonteius Capito. Civilis was ſent in irons to be diſpoſed of by Nero: Galba releaſed him from his fetters. Under Vitellius, he was again in danger from the fury of the Roman ſoldiers, who called aloud for his execution. Hence his hatred of the Roman name, and his hopes of ſucceſs founded on the diſtractions of the empire. Diſfigured by the loſs of an eye, he took occaſion from that blemiſh to call himſelf a ſecond Sertorius *(b)*, or another Hannibal. Politic beyond the reach of Barbarians, he wiſhed to avoid an open rupture with Rome, and, to that end, affected to eſpouſe the cauſe of Veſpaſian. To this conduct ſome colour was given by the letters, which he received from Antonius, directing him to make a diverſion in Germany, in order to prevent the ſuccour of the legions expected by Vitellius. Hordeonius Flaccus gave the ſame order in perſon. That general was a friend to Veſpaſian's cauſe, but chiefly zealous in the cauſe of his country. If ſuch prodigious numbers made an irruption into Italy, he trembled for the fate of the empire.

XIV. Civilis had taken his reſolution to throw off the yoke. With a bold, but concealed, plan of ambition, he looked forward to future contingencies, and took his meaſures in the following manner. By order of Vitellius, new levies were to be made, and the youth of Batavia was to be called out. This expedient, harſh in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more ſo by the avarice and profligacy of the Roman officers. By their direction the aged and infirm were preſſed into the ſervice, in order to extort from them a ſtipulated price for their diſmiſſion. Boys of tender years, but advanced in their growth (as is generally the caſe in that country), were dragged away to gratify the criminal paſſions of their maſters. Hence murmurs, jealouſies, and grievous complaints. The lead-

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ers of the conſpiracy ſaw their opportunity, and, by their advice, the people refuſed to be enrolled. Civilis, under the pretext of a convivial meeting, drew together the prime nobility, and the braveſt of the nation, to a banquet *(a)* in a ſacred grove. At a late hour, when wine and midnight revelry had inflamed their ſpirits, he took occaſion to expatiate on the fame and military exploits of the Batavians, artfully making a tranſition to the ſufferings of his countrymen, the depredations of the Romans, and the cruel tyranny, under which the nation groaned. "Rome," he ſaid, "no longer treats us as allies and friends: we are reduced "to the vileſt bondage. The commanders of legions were wont "to come among us with their train of attendants, always a "grievous burthen; but even that honour is now withheld. We "are turned over to centurions and ſubaltern officers. Thoſe "petty tyrants are no ſooner enriched with plunder, and pam-"pered with our blood, than they are recalled, to make way for "new oppreſſors. Rapacity follows in ſucceſſion; and, to varniſh "their guilt, new expedients are found, and new names for ex-"tortion. A project is now on foot to recruit their armies, and, "for that purpoſe, the country muſt be drained of inhabitants; "ſons muſt be torn from their parents, and brothers from their "brothers. And yet the Romans were never, at any period, in "ſo feeble a condition. Behold their winter-quarters: beſides "their old men, and their ſtores of plunder, what have they to ex-"hibit to our view? Dare to lift your eyes, and you will ſee the "phantom of an army, mere nominal legions. Our forces are in "vigour: we have both infantry and cavalry: the Germans are "our kinſmen; the Gauls think as we do; and even the Romans "themſelves invite us to the war. If we fail, our zeal for Veſpa-"ſian will plead our excuſe; if we ſucceed, victory gives no ac-"count of her actions."

XV. This ſpeech was received with ſhouts of approbation. Civilis, taking advantage of the impreſſion he had made, bound them all in a ſolemn league, with oaths and imprecations, according to the cuſtom of Barbarians. Deputies were ſent to the Caninefates, to invite them into the confederacy. That nation occupies part of the iſland *(a)*, in their origin, their manners, language and military virtue equal to the Batavians, but inferior in point of numbers. The Batavian cohorts, formerly ſent to ſerve in Britain, as already mentioned, returned from that expedition, and were quartered at Magontiacum *(b)*. By ſecret practices Civilis engaged them in the revolt. The leading chieftain among the Caninefates was known by the name of Brinno; a man of brutal and ferocious bravery, and by his birth illuſtrious. His father had been often in arms againſt the Romans, and, after many ſignal exploits, laughed at the ridiculous expedition and the mock triumph of Caligula *(c)*. The deſcendant of a rebel family wanted no recommendation to his countrymen. Brinno was placed on a ſhield, according to the cuſtom of the nation, and, being carried in triumph on the ſhoulders of the men, was declared commander in chief. He was ſoon after joined by the Friſians *(d)*, a people beyond the Rhine. With this reinforcement he found means to ſtorm the winter-quarters of two cohorts, which, except the extremity next to the ſea, lay open and defenceleſs. The aſſault was not foreſeen, nor were the Romans in force to maintain their poſt. The camp was taken and pillaged. The victuallers, and Roman traders, who had ſpread themſelves over the country, were the next victims. That the caſtles and forts, built along the coaſt, might not fall into the hands of the enemy, the Roman officers, ſeeing an attack intended, ordered them all to be burnt to the ground. Aquillius, a principal centurion, collected together all the colours and ſtandards, and, with the remnant of his forces, choſe a ſtation

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on the upper part of the iſland *(e)*, exhibiting rather the name than the ſtrength of an army. The flower of the cohorts had been drawn away by Vitellius, and, to fill up the companies, a ſet of raw recruits, from the neighbouring villages of the Nervians and Germans, were compelled to take up arms. But arms in the hands of men not enured to diſcipline, were an unwieldy burthen.

XVI. CIVILIS, ſtill thinking it his intereſt to diſguiſe his real intentions, complained aloud of the Roman officers, who had deſerted their poſts. With the cohort under his command, he would undertake to quell the inſurrection of the Caninefates: the Romans, therefore, would do well to return to their quarters. The policy of this advice was too apparent. The cohorts, diſperſed and weakened by diviſion, might fall an eaſy prey; and from various circumſtances, which the martial ſpirit of the Germans could not ſuppreſs, it ſoon tranſpired, that Civilis, and not Brinno, was at the head of the revolt. At length that enterpriſing chief, finding that he gained nothing by his wily arts, reſolved to throw off the maſk. He drew up his army in three diviſions, conſiſting of the Caninefates, the Friſians, and Batavians, all diſtinguiſhed by their proper colours and ſtandards. The Romans appeared in order of battle on the banks of the Rhine, while their ſhips, which, after ſetting fire to the forts and caſtles, had been collected together, advanced up the river to ſecond the operations of the army. A battle enſued, and had not laſted long, when a cohort of Tungrians, with their enſigns diſplayed, went over to Civilis. By this unexpected treachery, the Roman army was thrown into confuſion. The ſoldiers found themſelves beſet on every ſide. They were ſlaughtered by their friends and enemies. Nor did the fleet behave with more fidelity. Numbers of the men at the oars were Batavians: they began, as it were

were through ignorance and want of ſkill, to counteract the mariners and ſailors, till, at length, turning the prows of the veſſels, they bore away to the oppoſite ſhore. The pilots and centurions, who dared to oppoſe them, were put to death; and thus the whole fleet, to the number of four-and-twenty ſhips, was either taken, or went over to the enemy.

XVII. This victory was ſplendid, and, at the ſame time, brought with it ſolid advantages. The Batavians were in want of arms and ſhipping, and they were now ſupplied with both. Their fame reſounded throughout Gaul and Germany. Both nations honoured them as the aſſertors of public liberty. The Germans, by their ambaſſadors, offered to eſpouſe their cauſe, and the Gauls were already inclined to join the confederacy. Civilis had the addreſs to allure that nation to his intereſt. To ſuch of their officers as were taken priſoners he granted liberty to return to their native country, and the cohorts had their option either to depart, or to join the victorious army. Thoſe, who remained, were employed honourably in the ſervice, and, ſuch as preferred their diſmiſſion, went off loaded with the ſpoils of the Romans. Before their departure, Civilis laboured, in ſecret conferences, to inflame their indignation. "Call to mind," he ſaid, "the miſeries which you have endured for a ſeries of "years. Your condition, during that period, was a ſtate of "bondage, and you gave it the name of peace. The Batavians "were exempt from taxes and tributes, and yet they took up "arms againſt the oppreſſors of mankind. In the firſt engage-"ment, the Romans fled before the ſons of freedom. Let the "Gauls ſhake off the yoke, and what muſt be the conſequence? "The reſources of Italy are exhauſted. It is by the blood of the "provinces that the provinces have been wreſted from us. "For the defeat of Vindex *(a)* the Romans have no reaſon to "triumph.

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" triumph. That victory was gained by the Batavian cavalry: by
" them the Æduans and Arvernians were put to the rout. Among
" the auxiliaries led by Verginius on that occaſion, the Belgic
" Gauls were his ſtrongeſt force. Gaul, it may be truly ſaid,
" was conquered by herſelf. At preſent, one common intereſt
" unites us all, and we have this further advantage; whatever of
" uſeful diſcipline was to be found in the Roman camps, we have
" made that our own. Their military ſkill is on our ſide. The
" veteran cohorts, before whom Otho's legions were obliged to
" fly, have declared for us. Syria, and Aſia, and the oriental
" nations may, if they will, bow down in ſlavery, and ſtretch
" their necks to the yoke: under their own deſpotic kings they
" have been taught to crouch in bondage. In Gaul there are
" men ſtill living, who were born in freedom, before tributes *(b)*,
" impoſts, and other badges of Roman tyranny were invented.
" By the overthrow of Varus and his legions ſlavery was dri-
" ven out of Germany. In that juncture, it was not with a
" Vitellius that the aſſertors of freedom were to contend: the
" ſtruggle was with Auguſtus Cæſar. Againſt that emperor the
" Germans fought for liberty, that beſt gift, dealt out by the im-
" partial hand of nature, even to the brute creation. Man has
" the addition of courage and virtue to defend his rights; and
" all, who have the fortitude to ſtand forth in that glorious
" cauſe, are ſure to be favoured by the gods. Let us riſe at once,
" and, ſword in hand, attack a people weakened by their own
" diviſions. Our ſtrength is unimpaired; the Romans are ex-
" hauſted; they are divided between Veſpaſian and Vitellius;
" and, while they are fighting for a maſter, they offer them-
" ſelves to the juſt vengeance of an injured people."

XVIII. While Civilis, in this manner, endeavoured to rouſe the ſtates of Gaul and Germany, the ambition of that politic war-

rior

rior inſpired all his meaſures. If his project ſucceeded, he thought of nothing leſs than making himſelf king of thoſe rich and powerful nations. Hordeonius Flaccus affected, for ſome time, to have no ſuſpicion of Civilis. He ſoon, however, received intelligence that the camp was taken by ſtorm, the cohorts put to the ſword, and the Roman name exterminated from the Iſle of Batavia. In this alarming criſis, he ordered Mummius Lupercus, with two legions, then under his command in winter quarters, to march againſt the enemy. That officer obeyed with prompt alacrity. With the forces in his camp, with the Ubians, who were near at hand, and the Treverian cavalry, drawn from an inconſiderable diſtance, he paſſed over into the iſland. He added to his army a ſquadron of Batavian horſe, already corrupted by the wily arts of Civilis. Theſe men made a ſhew of zeal in the ſervice of the Romans, to the end that, on the day of battle, they might enhance the value of their treachery. Civilis prepared to receive the enemy. Near his perſon he diſplayed the banners taken from the vanquiſhed cohorts, that the ſight of thoſe glorious trophies might inſpire his troops with ardour, and depreſs a conquered enemy by the recollection of their late calamity. In the rear he placed his mother and his ſiſters, with the wives and children of the ſoldiers, that they might there inflame the ardour of the combatants, and, by their reproaches, prevent an ignominious flight. The field reſounded with the war-ſong of the ſoldiers, and the ſavage howlings of the women. The Romans returned a feeble ſhout. The Batavian cavalry went over to their countrymen, and, by that deſertion, the left wing of the Roman army was expoſed to the enemy. The legionary ſoldiers, though preſſed on every ſide, preſerved their ranks, and ſhewed an intrepid countenance. The Ubian and Treverian auxiliaries fled with precipitation. The Germans purſued them with determined fury. The legions, in the mean time, ſeized the opportunity, and retreated

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retreated in good order to the ſtation known by the name of VETERA, or the old camp *(a)*. After this victory, a ſtruggle for power and pre-eminence broke out between Civilis and Claudius Labeo, who commanded the Batavian cavalry. Civilis did not judge it ſafe to put his rival to death: an act of violence might provoke the popular hatred; and yet, if he ſuffered him to remain with the army, internal diſcord might be productive of quarrels and confuſion. Labeo was removed to the country of the Friſians.

XIX. SUCH was the poſture of affairs, when the Caninefates and a detachment of Batavian cohorts, by order of Vitellius, ſet out on their march for Rome. A meſſenger diſpatched by Civilis overtook them with the news of his victory. The intelligence filled the ſoldiers with arrogance and ferocity. They demanded a recompenſe for their march, the donative promiſed by Vitellius, with double pay, and an augmentation of their cavalry. In making theſe demands, they had no hopes of ſucceſs; a pretext for ſedition was all they wanted. Hordeonius Flaccus yielded in ſeveral inſtances; but his conceſſions provoked ulterior demands, which the men knew would not be granted. At length, throwing aſide all reſpect for the general, they reſolved to join Civilis, and accordingly bent their courſe towards the Lower Germany. Flaccus called a council of the tribunes and centurions, to deliberate whether it were expedient to reduce the mutineers by force of arms. His natural timidity returned upon him, and his officers had no reſolution. They ſuſpected the fidelity of the auxiliary forces, and knew beſides, that the legions were chiefly filled with raw recruits. Flaccus reſolved to keep his men within their entrenchments; but he reſolved without deciſion, and the next moment repented. The very officers, who adviſed the meaſure, were the firſt to condemn it. The general ſent off

diſpatches to Herennius Gallus, then at the head of the firſt legion ſtationed at Bonn *(a)*, with orders to oppoſe the march of the Batavians, while he himſelf with his whole army hung upon their rear. The plan was, no doubt, well concerted. Had both generals advanced with their troops, the revolters muſt have been hemmed in, and cut to pieces. Flaccus once more changed his mind. In a ſecond letter to Gallus, he directed that officer not to obſtruct the Batavians in their march. By this fluctuation of counſels both the generals were brought under a cloud of ſuſpicion. The war and all its conſequences were imputed, not to the inactive ſpirit of the ſoldiers, nor yet to the ſuperior bravery of the inſurgents, but to the perfidy of the commanding officers.

XX. The Batavians, as ſoon as they drew near to the camp at Bonn, ſent a meſſage to Herennius Gallus, importing, "that "they had no hoſtile deſign. They had often fought for the "Romans, and did not mean to make war againſt them. Worn "out in a long and painful ſervice, they deſired nothing but a "retreat from labour in their native country. Their march, if "not obſtructed, would leave behind no trace of miſchief; but, "if their paſſage was diſputed, they were determined to cut their "way ſword in hand." The Roman general was ſtaggered by theſe menaces; but his ſoldiers, eager for action, obliged him to hazard a battle. The whole army ruſhed out at the ſeveral gates of the camp, in number three thouſand legionary ſoldiers, ſome Belgic cohorts raiſed by ſudden levies, and a large body of peaſants and followers of the camp, an undiſciplined band, before the onſet brave and inſolent, and in the heat of action the firſt to betake themſelves to flight. The Romans hoped to ſurround an enemy, whom they knew to be inferior in number. The Batavians, whom a life of warfare had made ſoldiers, formed their ranks with ſkill; the front, the flanks, and the rear prepared to

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meet the enemy. The Roman lines were too much extended into length. The Batavians attacked with fury, and ſoon broke through the ranks. The Belgic cohorts gave way on the firſt impreſſion. The rout of the legions followed. All endeavoured to regain their camp. In the entrenchments a dreadful ſlaughter followed. The foſſe was filled with mangled bodies, nor was the havoc made by the Batavians only: numbers, in that wild confuſion, periſhed by the hands of their comrades. The conquerors purſued their march, avoiding the road to the Agrippinian colony, and, during the reſt of their way, committed no act of hoſtility. They even endeavoured to exculpate themſelves from all imputation in their late encounter at Bonn, alleging, that they were, on that occaſion, under the neceſſity of acting on the defenſive, when peace was humbly offered, and haughtily refuſed.

XXI. CIVILIS, being now reinforced by theſe veteran cohorts, found himſelf at the head of a regular army. His reſolution, notwithſtanding, began to falter. The weight and power of the Romans preſented themſelves to his mind; he balanced all conſequences, and, ſtill remaining indeciſive, judged it beſt to ſave appearances by making his whole army take the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian. He alſo ſent a deputation to the two legions, which, after their late defeat, retired to the old camp, inviting them to follow his example, and acknowledge the title of the new emperor. The legions returned for anſwer, "that it was not "their cuſtom to adopt the counſels of an enemy, much leſs of a "traitor. Vitellius was their ſovereign, and in his cauſe they "would ſtand firm to the laſt. It was not for a deſerter, a Ba-"tavian fugitive, to aſſume the ſtyle and character of an arbiter "in the affairs of Rome. The puniſhment due to his crimes "was what he had to expect." Enraged by this reply, Civilis

roufed the whole Batavian nation. The Bructerians and Tencterians *(a)* entered into the league, and by agents, diſpatched for the purpoſe, all Germany was invited to ſhare in the ſpoil and glory of the conqueſt.

XXII. MUMMIUS LUPERCUS and Numiſius Rufus, the two Roman generals, ſaw a ſtorm gathering round them, and, to maintain their poſt againſt the combined forces of the enemy, began to ſtrengthen the fortifications of the old camp. A number of buildings, during a long peace, had been erected near the entrenchments, ſo thick as to reſemble a municipal town; but, in time of war, they might favour the approach of an enemy, and, for that reaſon, were levelled to the ground. But a ſufficient ſtore of proviſions was not laid up in the camp. The ſoldiers were permitted to ſeize the whole ſtock, as lawful plunder; and, by conſequence, that, which might have held out for a conſiderable time, was in a few days entirely conſumed. Civilis advanced with the main body of his army. He commanded the centre in perſon, at the head of the ſelect Batavian forces. To ſtrike the Romans with terror, he lined both banks of the Rhine with battalions of Germans, and ordered the cavalry to ſcour the country round. His fleet, at the ſame time, advanced againſt the current. To increaſe the pomp and terror of the war, the colours taken from the cohorts were diſplayed to view, and the images of wild beaſts *(a)* were brought forth from the ſacred groves, according to the cuſtom of thoſe barbarous nations ruſhing to a battle. The beſieged ſaw the appearance of a civil and a foreign war upon their hands at once. The extent of the entrenchments, deſigned at firſt for the reception of two legions, and now defended by ſcarce five thouſand men, inſpired the Barbarians with hope and courage. It is true, that within the lines there was a numerous body of ſutlers and followers of the

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army, who, on the firſt alarm, had fled to the camp for protection, and from thoſe men ſome kind of ſervice was expected.

XXIII. The camp ſtood partly on the ſide of a hill, that roſe with a gentle acclivity, and partly on the level plain; originally the deſign of Auguſtus Cæſar, who had conceived, that the legions, ſtationed there in winter quarters, would be able to bridle both the Germanies. That emperor did not foreſee the time, when the Barbarians would dare to ſeek the legions in their entrenchments. It followed, by conſequence, that no pains were employed to add to the natural ſtrength of the place; no works were thrown up to ſecure the ramparts; courage and military diſcipline were deemed a ſufficient bulwark. The Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, did not advance to the attack in one united body. Jealous of their national honour, and eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves by brave exploit, the ſeveral nations formed their lines in ſeparate diviſions. The aſſault began with miſſive weapons lanced at a diſtance; but no impreſſion was made. The darts hung, without effect, upon the towers and pinnacles of the walls, while the diſcharge of ſtones from the fortifications overwhelmed all beneath. The Barbarians reſolved to ſtorm the works. They ruſhed to the attack, rending the air with wild and furious howlings; they advanced their ſcaling-ladders, and formed a military ſhell. Some boldly gained the top of the parapet, but were driven back at the point of the ſword, or beat down with bucklers. As they fell, numbers were cruſhed with ſtakes and javelins. Their own impetuous fury hurried them into danger. Encouraged by their former ſucceſs, and ſure of victory, they ruſhed on to the aſſault with that undaunted courage, with which the thirſt of prey inſpires the minds of Barbarians. Under every diſadvantage, they ſtill thought of plunder. They attempted, for the firſt time, to make uſe of battering

tering engines, but without ſufficient ſkill. They were taught by priſoners and deſerters to raiſe, with rude materials, a platform, in the ſhape of a bridge, and to move it forward upon wheels. From the top of the arch, as from a rampart, ſome were able to annoy the beſieged, while others, under cover, endeavoured to ſap the walls. But the weight of ſtones diſcharged from the engines of the Romans broke down and cruſhed the enormous fabric. The Batavians, however, did not deſiſt. They began to prepare penthouſes, and to form a covered way with hurdles. The beſieged attacked them with a volley of flaming javelins, and poured ſuch an inceſſant fire, that the aſſailants were on every ſide enveloped by the flames. In deſpair of carrying the works by force, they turned their thoughts to a regular blockade. They knew that the beſieged had but a ſcanty ſtore of proviſions, by no means equal to the ſubſiſtence of a vaſt unwarlike multitude. Famine, they had no doubt, would conſpire with the natural treachery of the ſlaves to kindle the flame of ſedition in the camp. They relied, beſides, on the unforeſeen events of war, and had no doubt of being, in a ſhort time, maſters of the place.

XXIV. HORDEONIUS FLACCUS, having received intelligence that the old camp was inveſted, ſent diſpatches into Gaul for a reinforcement, and ordered Dillius Vocula, who commanded the eighteenth legion, to proceed, at the head of a choſen detachment, by rapid marches along the banks of the Rhine; while he himſelf, diſabled by bodily infirmity, and deteſted by his men, ſailed down the river, to follow the motions of the army. The complaints of the ſoldiers againſt their general were loud and violent. "It was by his connivance that the Batavian cohorts departed "from Magontiacum; he was blind, or pretended to be ſo, to "the machinations of Civilis; and he wilfully ſuffered the Ger-

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" man nations to be drawn into the revolt. Neither Antonius " Primus, nor Mucianus, by their vigour and activity, ſo effec- " tually ſerved the intereſt of Veſpaſian. Open hoſtility declares " itſelf at once, and men are on their guard: fraud works in " ſecret, and the blow, becauſe concealed, is not eaſily warded " off. Civilis has thrown off the maſk; above diſguiſe, an open " enemy, he heads his army in the field. Hordeonius Flaccus " wages war in his chamber; he gives his orders in bed, and " favours the operations of the enemy. And ſhall ſo many brave " and warlike ſoldiers languiſh under a wretched valetudinarian? " a ſuperannuated general? Better to ſtrike at once, and, by the " death of a traitor, deliver the army from an impotent chief, " under whoſe inauſpicious banners they had nothing to expect " but diſgrace and ruin." While by theſe and ſuch like diſ- courſes the minds of the legions kindled to a blaze, letters from Veſpaſian added fuel to the flame. The receipt of thoſe letters could not be concealed from the army. Flaccus, for that reaſon, read them to a full aſſembly of the ſoldiers, and ſent the meſſengers bound in chains to Vitellius.

XXV. THAT proceeding had its effect: the men were pacified, and ſoon after arrived at Bonn, the winter-ſtation of the firſt legion. The ſoldiers, at that place, were ſtill more enraged againſt the general. To his miſconduct they imputed their late defeat. " By his order they marched out to offer battle to the " Batavians, expecting, while they engaged the enemy in front, " that the troops from Magontiacum were to fall upon the rear. " But no ſuccours arrived; the men fell a ſacrifice to the trea- " chery of the general. The other armies, wherever ſtationed, " were kept in ignorance of all that paſſed, nor was any account " tranſmitted to Vitellius. And yet it was evident, that, by the " vigorous efforts of the adjoining provinces, the rebellion might " have

"have been cruſhed in the bud." To appeaſe theſe diſcontents, Flaccus produced, and read, in the preſence of the army, copies of the ſeveral letters, by which he had endeavoured to obtain ſuccours from Britain, Spain, and Gaul. He deſcended to other compliances ſtill more pernicious and diſgraceful. He eſtabliſhed a new rule, by which it was ſettled, that, for the future, all letters ſhould be delivered to the eagle-bearers of the legions, to be by them communicated to the ſoldiers, before they underwent the inſpection of the general officers. He then ordered one of the mutineers to be loaded with irons; not that the man was the only incendiary, but the general meant, by that act, to retain ſome ſhadow of authority. From Bonn the army proceeded to the Agrippinian colony. At that place they were joined by numerous ſuccours that came pouring in from Gaul, where, in the beginning of the troubles, the people ſtill adhered to the intereſt of Rome. But, in a ſhort time afterwards, when they ſaw the efforts of the Germans crowned with ſucceſs, the different ſtates of that country had recourſe to arms, determined to recover their liberty, and, if the enterpriſe ſucceeded, with the ambitious deſign of impoſing upon others the yoke, which they ſhook off from their own ſhoulders. The fury of the legions was far from being appeaſed. The example of a ſingle offender bound in chains made no impreſſion. That very man was hardy enough to turn his own particular caſe into an argument againſt his general. He had been, he ſaid, the confidential meſſenger between Flaccus and Civilis; and now, to hinder the truth from being brought to light, his teſtimony was to be ſuppreſſed by an unjuſt and cruel ſentence. The wickedneſs of this incendiary rouſed the indignation of Vocula. That ſpirited officer mounted the tribunal with a firmneſs, that ſtruck a general awe. He ordered the miſcreant to be ſeized, and, notwithſtanding the violence of his ſhrieks, ſent him to inſtant execution. The ſeditious were

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overawed, and the well diſpoſed obeyed with alacrity. Vocula was now the favourite of the army. The ſoldiers, with one voice, inſiſted that he ſhould be their general, and Flaccus reſigned the command.

XXVI. The minds of the ſoldiers were ſtill in agitation, and various cauſes conſpired to inflame their diſcontents. Their pay was in arrear; proviſions were ſcarce; the Gauls were not in a temper to pay their tribute, or to furniſh ſupplies of men; the Rhine, by a long courſe of dry weather, almoſt unknown in that climate, was ſunk ſo low, as to be hardly navigable; ſupplies for the army were conveyed with difficulty; to hinder the Germans from fording over, a chain of poſts was neceſſary on the banks of the river; and, by conſequence, there was a dearth of grain, and many mouths to demand it. With vulgar minds, the ſhallowneſs of the ſtream paſſed for a prodigy. According to their interpretation, the very rivers deſerted the Romans, and the ancient boundaries of the empire diſappeared. That, which in time of peace *(a)*, would have been no more than the effect of natural cauſes, was now called fate, and the wrath of the gods. The army marched to Noveſium *(b)*, and was there joined by the thirteenth legion, under the command of Herennius Gallus, who was now aſſociated with Vocula. The two generals were not inclined to ſeek the enemy. They pitched their camp at a place called Gelduba *(c)*, and, to keep their men in exerciſe, employed them in forming the line of battle, in digging trenches, throwing up ramparts, and other military works. To give them an opportunity to plunder, and by that incentive to animate their courage, Vocula marched with the main body into the territory of the Gugernians *(d)*, a people leagued with Civilis. Gallus, in the mean time, with part of the troops, kept poſſeſſion of the camp.

XXVII. It

XXVII. It happened that a barge, laden with grain, was ſtranded in a ſhallow part of the river, at a ſmall diſtance from the camp. The Germans exerted themſelves to draw the veſſel to their own bank. Gallus diſpatched a cohort to prevent the diſgrace. The Germans poured down in greater numbers. Succours arrived on both ſides. An engagement followed. The Germans, after making a prodigious ſlaughter, ſecured the veſſel. The Romans imputed their defeat not to their own want of valour, but to the treachery of the general. This, in all calamities, was the conſtant language of the army. The ſoldiers in their fury dragged Gallus out of his tent; they tore his clothes, and fell on him with blows, demanding, who were the accomplices combined with him to betray the army? and what was the price of his perfidy? Their rage againſt Hordeonius Flaccus broke out again with increaſing violence. He was the author of the crime, and Gallus was an inſtrument in his hands. In this extremity, to deliver himſelf from inſtant death, the general was obliged to yield to the paſſions of the men, and give his teſtimony againſt Hordeonius Flaccus. He was, notwithſtanding, loaded with fetters, and not releaſed till Vocula returned to the camp. That general, on the following day, ordered the ringleaders of the mutiny to be put to death. Such was the wonderful diverſity of temper that ſhewed itſelf in that army; at one moment, rage and madneſs, and in quick ſucceſſion, patience and reſignation. The common men, beyond all doubt, were devoted to Vitellius, while the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers inclined to Veſpaſian. Hence that aſtoniſhing medley of guilt and puniſhment, of dutiful behaviour and ſavage ferocity. The men were unwilling to be governed, and yet ſubmitted to correction.

XXVIII. Civilis, in the mean time, grew every day more formidable. All Germany eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſuccours arrived

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rived from every quarter. The ſtates beyond the Rhine delivered their prime nobility as hoſtages to bind the league in cloſer union. Civilis iſſued his orders, that the confederates, who lay contiguous to the Ubians *(a)* and Treverians, ſhould haraſs the people by frequent incurſions, and carry ſlaughter and devaſtation through their country. At the ſame time, he gave directions that a ſtrong party ſhould paſs over the Meuſe, to invade the Menapians *(b)*, the Morinians, and the frontiers of Gaul. The ſoldiers in every quarter were enriched with plunder. The Ubians, in particular, felt the vengeance of the ravaging parties. Though they were originally of German extraction, they had renounced their country, and, proud of a Roman name, ſtyled themſelves the Agrippinian colony. Their cohorts, poſted at a diſtance from the Rhine, and in that ſtation thinking themſelves ſecure, were ſurpriſed at the town of Marcodurum *(c)*, and cut to pieces. The Ubians, in their turn, penetrated into Germany, and at firſt committed depredations with impunity, till, in the end, they were overpowered by ſuperior numbers. Through the whole of the war their fidelity to Rome was unſhaken, but a train of misfortunes was their only recompenſe. Fluſhed with ſucceſs, and pleaſed with the defeat of the Ubians, Civilis preſſed the ſiege of the old camp with the utmoſt vigour. His firſt care was to cut off all communication, that no intelligence of intended ſuccours might reach the garriſon. The management of the battering engines and other warlike preparations he left to the Batavians; and ſeeing that the forces from beyond the Rhine were eager for action, he ordered them to advance to the entrenchments, and by a ſudden aſſault to force the works. They were repulſed, and by his order returned to the charge. In ſo numerous an army men might be ſacrificed, and yet the loſs not be felt.

XXIX. The

XXIX. The night afforded no pauſe from the attack. The Barbarians ſet fire to the clumps of wood, which they had ranged along the entrenchments, and betook themſelves to feaſting and revelry. Growing warm with liquor, they ruſhed with headlong fury to aſſault the works. Their darts were thrown at an enemy ſafe in obſcurity, while the Romans were enabled by the glaring fires to view the ſcene of action, and take aim at the combatants, who made themſelves conſpicuous by their valour or the ſplendour of their arms. Civilis ſaw the diſadvantage, and ordered the fires to be extinguiſhed. Confuſion, darkneſs, and wild uproar followed. Diſſonant ſhouts were heard; random blows were given; chance directed, and none could ſee where to preſs or avoid the enemy. Where the noiſe was loudeſt, they faced about to that quarter, and diſcharged their weapons in the dark. Valour was undiſtinguiſhed, and the braveſt often fell by the hand of the coward. The Germans fought with the rage of madmen; the Romans with their uſual diſcretion, like ſoldiers enured to danger. Their poles pointed with iron were never darted at random, nor did they diſcharge their maſſy ſtones without being ſure of their effect. Whenever they heard the Barbarians ſapping the foundation of the walls, or found their ſcaling-ladders applied to the ramparts, they made ſure of their blow, and with their bucklers or their javelins drove the aſſailants headlong down the ſteep. Some gained the ſummit of the walls, and periſhed on the ſpot. The night paſſed in this manner, and the day brought on a new mode of attack.

XXX. A tower, with two floors for the ſoldiers, had been conſtructed by the Barbarians. With this huge machine they now advanced againſt the works at the prætorian gate *(a)*, the ground on that ſide of the camp being ſmooth and level. The Romans directed their ſtrong beams and other inſtruments with

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ſo much force, that the whole ſtructure was cruſhed to pieces, and the ſoldiers, who had been poſted in the galleries, lay buried under the ruins. In that moment the beſieged made a ſucceſsful ſally. The legionary ſoldiers, in the mean time, framed with ſkill a number of new machines. One, in particular, ſtruck the enemy with terror and amazement. This was ſo conſtructed *(b)*, that an arm, projecting from the top, waved over the heads of the Barbarians, till, being ſuddenly let down, it caught hold of the combatants, and, ſpringing back with ſudden elaſticity, carried them up in the air, in the view of the aſtoniſhed Germans, and, turning round with rapidity, threw them headlong into the camp. Civilis found himſelf baffled in every attempt. He deſpaired of carrying the place by ſtorm, and once more turned the ſiege into a cloſe blockade; in the mean time tampering with the garriſon, and, by falſe intelligence as well as ample promiſes, endeavouring to ſeduce the men from their duty.

XXXI. The tranſactions, which we have here related, happened in Germany before the battle of Cremona *(a)*. The firſt account of the victory at that place was ſent by Antonius Primus, with Cæcina's proclamation annexed to his letters. The news was further confirmed by Alpinus Montanus, the commander of one of the vanquiſhed cohorts, who, after the defeat, made the beſt of his way into Germany. By this event the minds of the Roman army were thrown into violent agitations. The auxiliaries from Gaul, a mercenary band, who neither loved one party nor hated the other, mere ſoldiers of fortune, without ſentiment or principle, were ſoon perſuaded by their officers to abandon the cauſe of Vitellius. The veteran ſoldiers remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. Overruled at length by Hordeonius Flaccus, and importuned by the tribunes, they ſwore fidelity to Veſpaſian; but with

with an air of reluctance, and a ſtern ferocity, that plainly ſhewed their hearts were not in uniſon with their words. In repeating the form of the oath, they faltered at the name of Veſpaſian, never pronouncing it diſtinctly, but muttering to themſelves, and, in general, paſſing it over in ſilence.

XXXII. A LETTER from Antonius to Civilis was read to a full aſſembly of the legions. The ſtyle, in which that active partiſan was treated as a friend to the new emperor, while the legions were conſidered as enemies, excited a general indignation. An account of theſe tranſactions was ſoon after tranſmitted to the camp at Gelduba, where the ſame compliance, and the ſame diſcontents, prevailed. Montanus was deputed to Civilis, with inſtructions to require, that he would "lay down his arms, and ceaſe "to varniſh hoſtile intentions with the ſpecious pretence of fighting in the cauſe of Rome. If, in fact, he meant to ſerve Veſpaſian, that end was anſwered, and it was time to ſheath the "ſword." To this meſſage Civilis replied with guarded ſubtlety; but perceiving in Montanus an active genius, and a ſpirit of enterpriſe, he opened his mind without reſerve. "I have ſerved," he ſaid, "in the Roman armies for five-and-twenty years: in "that time I have encountered various perils; and what has been "my reward? I have ſeen the death of a brother; I have been "loaded with fetters; and I have heard the clamours of the "Roman army, with rage and violence demanding my blood. "If, in return, I ſeek the blood of my enemies, I ſtand juſtified by "the law of nations. As to you, ye Treverians, and you, ye "abject nations, who can tamely ſubmit to a foreign maſter, "what do you expect will be the fruit of all your toil, and all "your blood laviſhed in the ſervice of Rome? Endleſs warfare, eternal tributes, the lictor's rod, the axe, and the wanton "cruelty of your imperious maſters; thoſe are the rewards that

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" wait you. Behold in me the præfect of a ſingle cohort; behold " the Caninefates and the Batavian forces: they are but a mere " handful of men, a ſmall portion of Gaul: and yet, what have " we not achieved? That ſpacious camp, the proud diſplay of " Roman labour, is, at this moment, tottering to its fall. If their " legions hold out, famine will devour them; if famine forbears, " the ſword muſt end them. In a word, by daring nobly, we " ſhall recover our liberty: if we fail, our condition cannot be " worſe than it was before." By this animated ſpeech Civilis rouſed the ambition of Montanus. He then diſmiſſed him, with directions to report his anſwer in milder terms. Montanus obeyed his orders, content with reporting that he failed in his negotiation. He ſuppreſſed the reſt, but the whole broke out afterwards with redoubled fury.

XXXIII. CIVILIS turned his attention to the motions of Vocula and his army. Having reſerved for himſelf a ſufficient force, he diſpatched to Gelduba his veteran cohorts, and the braveſt of the Germans, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor. The laſt was nephew to Civilis, being a ſiſter's ſon. The two chiefs arrived at Aſciburgium *(a)*, and there ſtormed the winter-encampment of a ſquadron of horſe. From that place they made a forced march, and fell with ſuch unexpected fury on the camp at Gelduba, that Vocula had neither time to harangue his men, nor to form his line of battle. All he could do, was to order the legionary ſoldiers to draw up in the centre. The auxiliaries, in a tumultuary manner, ranged themſelves in the wings. The cavalry advanced to the attack; but making no impreſſion on the well embodied ranks of the Germans, they ſoon gave ground, and fled with precipitation. From that moment, it was a ſcene of ſlaughter, not a battle. The Nervians quitted their poſt through fear or treachery, and, by their flight, left the flank

of

of the Romans open to the enemy. The Barbarians, following their advantage, penetrated to the centre. They drove the legions into their entrenchments; they ſeized their ſtandards, and made a dreadful carnage. But a reinforcement coming up in time, the fortune of the day was changed. The Gaſcon cohorts *(b)*, formerly levied by Galba, had received orders to join the army. Hearing, as they approached the camp, the din of arms, and the uproar of battle, they advanced to the attack, and charged the Batavians in the rear. The terror that ſeized the enemy, was greater than could be expected from ſo ſmall a number. Some imagined, that ſuccours arrived from Noveſium; others thought of nothing leſs than the whole army from Magontiacum. The miſtake revived the drooping courage of the Romans. Depending on the valour of others, they began to exert their own. The Batavian infantry was put to the rout. Their cavalry eſcaped, and carried with them the priſoners and ſtandards, which they had taken in the beginning of the action. The number ſlain on the part of the Romans greatly exceeded the loſs of the enemy; but the ſlaughter fell on the worſt of their troops, whereas the Germans loſt the flower of their army.

XXXIV. The commanders on both ſides were equally in fault. By their miſconduct they deſerved the check they met with; and, when fortune favoured their arms, neither of them knew how to improve his advantage. Had Civilis ſent into the field a ſtronger force, it is evident that his men could not have been hemmed in by ſo ſmall a number. Having forced the entrenchments, he might have razed them to the ground. On the other hand, Vocula had ſent out no ſcouts to watch the motions of the enemy. Taken by ſurpriſe, he marched out of his camp, and was defeated. Having afterwards gained a victory, he made no uſe of it, but loſt ſeveral days, before he made a for-

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ward movement. Had he purſued his advantage, and given the enemy no time to reſt, one vigorous effort would have raiſed the ſiege of the camp. Civilis exerted every effort, determined to profit by the inactivity of the Roman general. He endeavoured, by his meſſengers, to ſhake the firmneſs of the garriſon; he repreſented the forces under Vocula, as entirely overthrown; he boaſted of a complete victory; he diſplayed the banners taken from the enemy, and, with oſtentation, made a ſhew of the priſoners. The ſpirit, with which one of them behaved, deſerves to be recorded. With a clear and audible voice, he called out to the beſieged, and told them the event of the late battle. For this gallant action, he was butchered on the ſpot. That act of vengeance gave credit to his ſtory. The beſieged, at the ſame time, ſaw the blaze of villages on fire, and the country laid waſte on every ſide. This announced the approach of a victorious army. Vocula commanded his men to halt in the ſight of the camp, and, having erected his ſtandards, ordered a foſſe to be made, and a paliſade to be thrown up, that, the baggage being ſafely depoſited, he might offer battle with greater ſecurity. The ſoldiers thought it loſs of time: they deſired to be led on to the attack; and, according to cuſtom, threats of vengeance reſounded through the army. No order of battle was formed. Fatigued by their march, and their ranks in confuſion, they ruſhed on with impetuous fury. Civilis was in force, and ready to receive them. He relied no leſs on the vices of his enemy, than on the valour of his own troops. The Romans fought with various turns of fortune. The bold and forward in ſedition, were cowards in the field. A ſenſe of honour prevailed with ſome. They remembered their late exploits, and, fluſhed with victory, maintained their poſt; they attacked the Barbarians, and by deeds of valour rouſed the ſpirit of their comrades. Having reſtored the broken ranks, and renewed the battle, they waved their hands to the

the beſieged, inviting them to ſally out, and uſe their opportunity. The legions from their ramparts ſaw the ſcene of action, and ruſhed out at every gate. An accident diſconcerted Civilis. His horſe fell under him. A report that he was ſlain, or dangerouſly wounded, ran through both armies. Conſternation covered the Batavian ranks, and joy inſpired the Romans with new ardour.

XXXV. VOCULA did not think fit to haraſs the barbarians in their retreat. Inſtead of hanging on their rear, he amuſed himſelf with repairing the works of the camp, as if he expected a ſecond ſiege. The conſequence was, that he who ſo often neglected to make uſe of his victory, was thought no enemy to a lingering war. The ſcarcity of proviſions was what chiefly diſtreſſed the Roman army. To remedy the evil, Vocula ſent off all his uſeleſs people, with the waggons, as far as Noveſium, with intent that, by the return of the ſame convoy, a ſupply of corn might be brought to the camp. The conveyance by land was neceſſary, as the enemy were maſters of the river. The firſt attempt ſucceeded, Civilis not having then recovered his ſtrength. Being informed ſoon after that a ſecond party was on the way to Noveſium, with a few cohorts marching in all the negligence of a profound peace, their colours and ſtandards thinly guarded, their arms laid up in the waggons, and the men ſcattered in looſe diſorder, he reſolved to attack them by ſurpriſe. Having firſt ſecured the bridges over the river, and the defiles of the country, he advanced in order of battle. The Romans, though their lines were ſtretched to a vaſt length, made a brave reſiſtance, till night put an end to the conflict. The Cohorts arrived at Gelduba, and found the entrenchments and the garriſon in good condition. The difficulty of returning, after this check, to the old camp was now too apparent. Vocula reſolved to march to their aſſiſtance. For this

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purpoſe he drafted from the fifth and fifteenth legions a thouſand choſen men, who had ſtood the ſiege in the old camp, and were diſtinguiſhed by their rancorous animoſity to their commanding officers. Theſe he added to his army. A number of others, without orders, thought fit to follow, declaring aloud, that they would neither bear the diſtreſs of famine, nor the treachery of their chiefs. Among thoſe who remained behind, the ſpirit of diſcontent was no leſs violent. They complained, that, by drawing off a part, the whole was weakened. Hence two ſeditions raged at the ſame time; one demanding the return of Vocula, and the other reſolved never again to enter the camp.

XXXVI. CIVILIS, in the mean time, returned to the ſiege. Vocula retired to Gelduba, and thence to Noveſium. Civilis took poſſeſſion of Gelduba, and ſoon after, in an engagement of the cavalry, near Noveſium, gained a victory. All events, whether proſperous or otherwiſe, were now alike to the Romans, incenſed, on every occaſion, againſt their general officers. Being reinforced by the detachment from the fifth and fifteenth legions, they grew more outrageous than ever; and having gained intelligence, that a ſum of money was ſent by Vitellius, they clamoured loudly for the immediate diſcharge of their donative. Hordeonius Flaccus complied without heſitation, but in the name of Veſpaſian. By this ſtep the flame of ſedition was kindled to a blaze. The men betook themſelves to feaſts and revelling; they carouſed during the night, and, in their liquor, their old antipathy to Flaccus revived with all its virulence. They ruſhed to his tent; the darkneſs of the night ſerved to muffle their horrible deſign, and no ſenſe of ſhame remained. Neither tribune nor centurion dared to interpoſe. They dragged their general out of his bed, and murdered him on the ſpot. The ſame cataſtrophe was prepared for Vocula; but that officer, in the diſguiſe

of

of a ſlave, made his eſcape. The fury of the mutineers began to relent: fear ſucceeded to rage; they dreaded the conſequences, and, in their diſtreſs, diſpatched ſome of the centurions, with letters to the ſtates of Gaul, requeſting a ſupply of men and money. A. U. C. 822. A. D. 69.

XXXVII. BEING left without a leader, they were no better than a ſenſeleſs multitude, bold and wavering, raſh and cowardly by turns. Civilis advanced to offer battle; they ſeized their arms, they laid them down, and betook themſelves to flight. Even in diſtreſs they could not act with a ſpirit of union; they quarrelled among themſelves, and the ſoldiers from the Upper Rhine abandoned the common cauſe. The images of Vitellius were, notwithſtanding, ſet up in the camp, and the adjacent Belgic cities; but Vitellius was then no more *(a)*. The ſoldiers of the firſt, the fourth, and the eighteenth legions, returning to a ſenſe of their duty, put themſelves under the command of Vocula, and having, by his direction, taken the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian, marched to raiſe the ſiege of Magontiacum. A motley army of the Cattians *(b)*, the Uſipians, and the Mattiaci had inveſted the place; but, on the approach of the Romans, they decamped with a load of booty. The legions fell in with their ſtraggling parties, and put a great number to the ſword. The Treverians had ſunk a fence and raiſed a paliſade, to defend the frontier of their country againſt the inroads of the Germans, whom they attacked with alternate ſucceſs, and no ſmall effuſion of blood. In the end, they deſerted from the Romans, and, by their perfidy, ſullied the luſtre of all their former ſervices.

XXXVIII. MEANWHILE, Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus, though both abſent from Rome, entered on the year of their joint conſulſhip. A melancholy gloom hung over the city. The minds of men were diſtracted with different apprehenſions, and to their na- A. U. C. 823. A. D. 70.

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tural fears imagination added a train of groundleſs terrors. It was ſuppoſed that Africa *(a)*, at the inſtigation of Lucius Piſo, was in open rebellion. Piſo was, at that time, governor of the province; but the love of innovation made no part of his character. It happened that the roughneſs of the winter interrupted the navigation, and, the corn ſhips not arriving regularly, the populace, who have never more than one day's proviſion, dreaded an approaching famine. Of all that concerns the public, the price of grain is their only care *(b)*. Their fear, at preſent, was, that, to cut off ſupplies from Rome, the coaſt of Africa was guarded; and what they feared, they eaſily believed. The Vitellians, not having yet renounced the ſpirit of party, did what in them lay to confirm the report. Even the conquerors did not diſlike the news. Convulſions of the ſtate were not unwelcome to men of their deſcription, whoſe avarice no foreign conqueſt could appeaſe, and no civil war could ſatisfy.

XXXIX. On the calends of January, the ſenate, convened by Julius Frontinus *(a)*, the city prætor, paſſed a vote of thanks to the general officers, the armies, and the kings in alliance with Rome. Tertius Julianus, who had quitted the legion under his command, as ſoon as the men declared for Veſpaſian, was, for that offence, deprived of the prætorſhip. Plotius Griphus ſucceeded to the office. Hormus was raiſed to the equeſtrian rank. Upon the voluntary abdication of Frontinus, Domitian, who had the additional title of Cæſar, aſſumed the dignity of city-prætor. From that time, all edicts and public inſtruments were iſſued in his name; but the authority of government ſtill centered in Mucianus, though ſometimes counteracted by Domitian. That young prince, encouraged by his friends, or ſpurred on by his own ambition, by fits and ſtarts aſſumed the character of firſt miniſter. But Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were the perſons whom Mucianus

Mucianus viewed with a jealous eye. They were both recent from the field of glory; both covered with laurels, idolized by the army; and, as all the blood they had ſpilt was in the field of battle, they were both reſpected by the populace. Antonius, it was confidently ſaid, had invited Scribonianus Craſſus *(b)* to the head of the commonwealth. Craſſus was deſcended from an illuſtrious line of anceſtors, and derived additional luſtre from his brother, whom Galba made, by adoption, heir apparent of the empire. Thus diſtinguiſhed, he would not have wanted partiſans; but he was deaf to all temptation. A man of his way of thinking, who would have refuſed himſelf to a party already formed, was not to be dazzled by a diſtant and uncertain proſpect. Mucianus found that he had, in the perſon of Antonius, a powerful rival. To ruin him by open hoſtility were a dangerous attempt. He reſolved to act by ſtratagem, and accordingly, in the ſenate, grew laviſh in his praiſe. He amuſed him in private with ſplendid promiſes; he offered him the government of the nethermoſt Spain, then vacant by the abſence of Cluvius Rufus, and beſtowed favours on his friends, aſſigning to ſome the rank of præfect, and raiſing others to military honours. He flattered the ambition of Antonius, and was, at the ſame time, at work to undermine him. He ſent the ſeventh legion, known to be devoted to his rival, into winter-quarters. The third was in the intereſt of Arrius Varus, and for that reaſon ſent into Syria. Part of the army was ordered back to Germany; and, the ſeeds of tumult and ſedition being in this manner removed, the city began to reſume its ancient form: the laws revived, and the magiſtrates diſcharged the functions of their office.

XL. DOMITIAN, on the day of his firſt appearance in the ſenate, lamented, in a ſhort ſpeech, the abſence of his father and his brother Titus. Of himſelf he ſpoke with becoming diffidence. His deportment

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deportment was graceful, and his manner intereſting. The vices of his heart being then unknown, the bluſh of youth was conſidered as the mark of an ingenuous mind. He propoſed that the name of Galba ſhould be revived with all the honours due to his memory. Curtius Montanus added to the motion the name of Piſo. A decree was paſſed accordingly, but as far as it related to Piſo never executed. A number of commiſſioners were drawn by lot; ſome with power to reſtore to the lawful owners the property wreſted from them during the violence of civil war; others, to inſpect the tables of braſs, on which the laws were engraved, and to repair ſuch as were defaced by the injuries of time; to examine the public regiſters, and eraſe the expreſſions of ſervile adulation *(a)*, with which at different periods they were all contaminated; and finally, to ſet due limits to the public expenditure. Tertius Julianus, it now appeared, fled from his legion, to join the banners of Veſpaſian, and thereupon the prætorian dignity was reſtored to him; but the honours of that rank were by a decree confirmed to Griphus. The proſecution commenced by Muſonius Rufus *(b)* againſt Publius Celer was reſumed, and brought to a hearing. Celer was convicted, and by the ſentence of condemnation he made atonement to the manes of Soranus. This act of juſtice was honourable to the fathers, and not leſs ſo to Muſonius. Men applauded the conſtancy with which he vindicated the memory of his friend. Nothing could equal his glory, except the infamy that attended Demetrius *(c)*, a profeſſor of the cynic philoſophy, who, with more ambition than virtue, employed his eloquence in the cauſe of a notorious criminal, who, in the hour of danger, had neither courage nor ability to defend himſelf. The event gave the ſignal for a general attack on the whole race of informers; and, accordingly, Junius Mauricus *(d)* moved for an order to lay the journals of the late emperors before the ſenate, that in thoſe records it might be ſeen, who were the men

men of a perſecuting ſpirit, and againſt whom their malice had been levelled. Domitian was of opinion, that, in a matter of ſuch magnitude, the emperor ought to be conſulted.

XLI. The ſenate, on the motion of ſome of the leading members, deviſed a new form of oath, by which they called the gods to witneſs, that no man by any act of theirs had been aggrieved, and that they themſelves had derived no kind of advantage from the calamity of the times. The magiſtrates took this oath with the moſt ready compliance; and the fathers, in regular ſucceſſion, followed their example. Some, whom their conſcience reproached in ſecret, endeavoured, by various ſubtleties, to weaken, or to vary the form of the words. The remorſe of ſcrupulous minds the fathers approved, but equivocal ſwearing they condemned as perjury. That judgment, delivered by the higheſt authority, fell with weight upon Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius Actianus, and Ceſtius Severus, three notorious informers in the reign of Nero. The firſt of theſe offenders added to his former practices the recent guilt of attempting the ſame iniquity under Vitellius. The fathers, fired with indignation, threatened to lay violent hands on him, and never deſiſted till they forced him to withdraw from the ſenate houſe. Pactius Africanus was the next object of reſentment. It was he, they ſaid, who made Nero ſacrifice to his cruelty the two Scribonii *(a)*, thoſe excellent brothers, not more diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendour of their fortunes, than by their affection for each other. The miſcreant had not the contumacy to avow the fact, and to deny it was not in his power. He turned ſhort upon Vibius Criſpus *(b)*, who preſſed him with pointed queſtions; and, ſince he could not juſtify his own conduct, he contrived, by blending it with the guilt of his accuſer, to ſoften reſentment againſt himſelf.

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XLII. In the debates of that day, Vipſtanius Meſſala, though a young man, not yet of ſenatorian age *(a)*, gained immortal honour, not only by his eloquence, but for natural affection and the goodneſs of his heart. He had the ſpirit to ſtand forth for his brother, Aquilius Regulus *(b)*, and to implore, in his behalf, the lenity of the fathers. By the ruin of the ancient family of the Craſſi, and the illuſtrious houſe of Orphitus *(c)*, Regulus had drawn upon himſelf the public deteſtation. Of his own motion he undertook the proſecution againſt thoſe eminent citizens. He had no motives of fear, no danger to ward off from himſelf. The early genius of the man made him an informer from his youth; and by the deſtruction of others he hoped to open his road to honours. His brother, notwithſtanding, interceded for him; but, on the other hand, Sulpicia Prætextata, the widow of Craſſus, with her four fatherleſs children, attended the ſenate, ready, if the cauſe came to a hearing, to demand the vengeance due to his crimes. Meſſala did not enter into the merits of the cauſe. Without attempting to make a defence, he ſued for mercy, and ſucceeded ſo well, that many of the fathers were ſoftened in his favour. To counteract that impreſſion, Curtius Montanus *(d)* roſe, and, in a ſpeech of great warmth and vehemence, went ſo far as to charge, in direct terms, that Regulus, as ſoon as Galba was diſpatched, gave a purſe of money to the ruffian that murdered Piſo, and, throwing himſelf on the body, with unheard-of malice, gnawed the head with his teeth. "This," he ſaid, "was an act "of barbarity not imputable to Nero. Did that tyrant order it, or, "did you, Regulus, advance your dignity by that atrocious deed? "Did your perſonal ſafety require it? Let us, if you will, admit, "in ſome caſes, the plea of neceſſity: let thoſe, who, to ſave "themſelves, accompliſh the ruin of others, be allowed, by ſuch "excuſes, to extenuate their guilt. You, Regulus, have not that "apology: after the baniſhment of your father, and the confiſca-

" tion of his effects, you lived ſecure, beyond the reach of dan-
" ger. Excluded by your youth from public honours, you had
" no poſſeſſions to tempt the avarice of Nero; no riſing merit to
" alarm his jealouſy. A rage for blood, early ambition, and ava-
" rice panting for the wages of guilt, were the motives that urged
" you on. Unknown at the bar, and never ſo much as ſeen in
" the defence of any man, you came upon mankind with talents
" for deſtruction. The firſt ſpecimen of your genius was the
" murder of illuſtrious citizens. The commonwealth was re-
" duced to the laſt gaſp, and that was the criſis, in which you
" plundered the remaining ſpoils of your country. You ſeized
" the conſular ornaments, and, having amaſſed enormous riches,
" ſwelled your pride with the pontifical dignities. Innocent chil-
" dren, old men of the firſt eminence, and women of illuſtrious
" rank, have been your victims. It was from you that Nero
" learned a ſyſtem of compendious cruelty. The ſlow progreſs,
" with which he carried ſlaughter from houſe to houſe, did not
" ſatisfy your thirſt for blood. The emperor, according to your
" doctrine, fatigued himſelf and his band of harpies, by deſtroy-
" ing ſingle families at a time, when it was in his power, by his
" bare word, to ſweep away the whole ſenate to deſtruction.
" Retain amongſt you, conſcript fathers, if ſuch be your pleaſure,
" retain this ſon of miſchief, this man of diſpatch, that the age
" may have its own diſtinctive character, and ſend down to
" poſterity a model for imitation. Marcellus and Criſpus gave
" leſſons of villany to your fathers: let Regulus inſtruct the riſing
" generation. We ſee, that daring iniquity, even when unſucceſs-
" ful, has its followers: when it thrives and flouriſhes, will it want
" admirers? We have before us a man, no higher at preſent than the
" rank of quæſtor; and if we are now afraid of proceeding againſt
" him, what think you will be the caſe, when we ſee him exalted
" to the prætorian and the conſular dignity? Do we flatter our-

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"ſelves, that the race of tyrants ended with Nero? The men, "who ſurvived Tiberius, reaſoned in that manner; after the "death of Caligula, they ſaid the ſame; but another maſter ſuc- "ceeded, more cruel, and more deteſtable. From Veſpaſian "we have nothing to fear. He is at the time of life, when the "paſſions ſubſide; the virtues of moderation and humanity are "his: but virtue operates ſlowly, while pernicious examples "remain in force, and teach a ſyſtem of cruelty, when the "tyrant is no more. As to us, conſcript fathers, we have loſt "all our vigour: we are no longer the ſenate, that condemned "Nero to death, and in the ſpirit of ancient times called aloud "for vengeance on the miniſters and adviſers of that evil period. "The day that ſucceeds the downfal of a tyrant is always the beſt."

XLIII. THIS ſpeech was heard with ſuch marks of general approbation, that Helvidius Priſcus, taking advantage of the temper of the fathers, thought it a fair opportunity to have his full blow at Eprius Marcellus. He began with an encomium on the character of Cluvius Rufus; a man of wealth, and diſtinguiſhed eloquence, yet never known, through the whole reign of Nero, to have employed his talents againſt the life or fortune of any perſon whatever. As a contraſt to this bright example, he painted forth, in glaring colours, the flagitious practices of Marcellus. The fathers heard the charge with indignation. Marcellus ſaw the temper of the aſſembly, and riſing in his place, addreſſed himſelf to Helvidius. "I withdraw," he ſaid, "and leave "you to give your laws to the ſenate. Preſide if you will, and, "even in the preſence of the emperor's ſon, uſurp the ſupreme "authority." He ſpoke, and quitted his ſeat. Vibius Criſpus followed him; both enraged, but with different paſſions in their looks; Marcellus with eyes that darted fire; Criſpus, with a malignant ſmile. Their friends prevailed on them to return to their

their places. The whole aſſembly was in a flame. The men of integrity were on one ſide, and formed the largeſt party: the oppoſite faction were few in number, but they had weight and influence. A violent conteſt followed, and ended in nothing. The day was loſt in altercation.

XLIV. At the next meeting of the ſenate. Domitian propoſed a general amneſty, in order to bury in oblivion all complaints, all reſentments, and all the grievances of former times. Mucianus went at large into the caſe of the informers, and, in a tone of mild perſuaſion, entreated ſuch, as wanted to revive dormant proſecutions, to deſiſt from their purpoſe. The fathers had hitherto entertained hopes of recovering the independant exerciſe of their rights; but the preſent oppoſition convinced them, that liberty was not to be favoured. Mucianus apprehending, that, by this check, a blow might appear to be given to the authority of the ſenate, and that, by conſequence, impunity would be claimed by all the delinquents of Nero's time, remanded to the iſlands, to which they had been baniſhed, Octavius Sagitta, and Antiſtius Soſianus, both of ſenatorian rank. The former had lived in a courſe of adultery with *(a)* Pontia Poſthumia; and not being able to prevail on her to marry him, in the fury of diſappointed love, murdered the woman whom he adored. Soſianus *(b)* by his evil practices had been the ruin of numbers. Both had been condemned by a ſolemn decree of the ſenate; and though, in other inſtances, ſimilar judgments had been remitted, againſt theſe two offenders the law was enforced with rigour. Mucianus expected that theſe meaſures would ſoften prejudice, and conciliate the public favour; but his plan did not ſucceed Soſianus and Sagitta might have been allowed to remain at Rome without any diſadvantage to the public. They were men deſpiſed, and muſt have lived in obſcurity. The grievance, under which

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the people laboured, aroſe from the encouragement given to the tribe of informers. The talents, the riches, and the influence of that pernicious crew, ſpread a general terror through the city.

XLV. A CAUSE, which was ſoon after brought forward, and heard in due form, according to ancient uſage, contributed, in ſome degree, to calm the diſcontents of the ſenate. A complaint was made to that aſſembly, by Manlius Patruitus, a member of their body, that, at a meeting of the people in the colony of the Senenſians *(a)*, he was aſſaulted, and even ſtruck, by order of the magiſtrates. Nor did the injury ſtop there: they buried him in effigy in his own preſence, compelling him not only to be a ſpectator of the ſcene, but to bear the inſulting mockery of funeral lamentations, to ſee the images of his anceſtors carried in a ludicrous proceſſion, and to hear a torrent of opprobrious language thrown out againſt the ſenate. The parties accuſed were cited to appear. The cauſe was heard, and the guilty ſuffered condign puniſhment. The fathers added a decree, by which the people of the colony were required to be more obſervant of decency and good order. About the ſame time, Antonius Flamma, at the ſuit of the inhabitants of Cyrene, was convicted of extortion, and, his caſe being aggravated by acts of cruelty, the fathers ordered him into baniſhment.

XLVI. DURING theſe tranſactions, a violent uproar broke out in the camp, and almoſt roſe to open ſedition. The ſoldiers, diſbanded by Vitellius, and afterwards embodied in the ſervice of Veſpaſian, claimed a right to their former rank in the prætorian guards. At the ſame time, a number of others, who had been draſted from the legions, under a promiſe of being promoted to that ſtation, demanded their right, and the pay annexed to it. In this dilemma another difficulty occurred. The ſoldiers, who had

had been retained in the army by Vitellius, could not be diſmiſſed without great hazard, and even bloodſhed. Mucianus entered the camp. In order to aſcertain the period of time, during which they all had carried arms, he directed that the victorious troops, leaving proper diſtances between the reſpective companies, ſhould be drawn up under arms, with all their military ornaments. The Vitellians, who, as has been mentioned, ſurrendered at Bovillæ, together with all the ſtragglers that could be found either at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, advanced forward in one collected body. Nothing could be more wretched than their appearance; all in a ragged condition, and almoſt naked. Such of them as came from Britain, from Germany, or any other province, had orders to range themſelves in ſeparate diviſions. The field preſented an awful ſpectacle. The Vitellians ſaw before them the victors in the late battle, arrayed in terror, and brandiſhing their arms. They looked around, and found themſelves incloſed, in a defenceleſs ſtate, diſplaying their nakedneſs and deformity. Being ordered to remove to different parts of the field, they were ſeized with a general panic. The Germans, in particular, thought themſelves led forth to ſlaughter; they embraced their comrades; they hung about their necks; and, with prayers and tears, implored their fellow-ſoldiers not to deſert them in the laſt diſtreſs. Their cauſe, they ſaid, was common, and why ſhould their fate be different from the reſt? They appealed to Mucianus; they invoked the abſent prince; they offered up their ſupplications to the gods. Mucianus appeaſed their fears: he told them, they were all fellow-ſoldiers in the ſervice of the ſame prince, all bound by the common obligation of the ſame military oath. The victors were touched with ſympathy, and, by their acclamations, ſhewed that they felt for the unhappy. Nothing further happened on that day. In a ſhort time afterwards, Domitian addreſſed them in a public harangue.

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rangue. The men had recovered their courage. They liſtened to the young prince with an air of confidence, firm and intrepid. Domitian propoſed an allotment of lands: they refuſed the offer, deſiring to continue in the ſervice, and receive the arrears of their pay. They made their requeſt in an humble ſtyle; but the requeſt was in the nature of a demand, not to be reſiſted. They were all incorporated with the prætorian guards. The ſuperannuated, and ſuch as had ſerved out their time, were diſcharged with honour from the ſervice. Some were caſhiered for miſbehaviour, but by ſlow degrees, and without diſgrace. They were weeded out man by man; a ſure expedient to prevent cabals and factions in the army.

XLVII. THE poverty of the public treaſury, real, or, for political reaſons, pretended, was brought forward in the ſenate. A ſcheme was propoſed for raiſing, by a loan from private perſons, the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces. The management of the buſineſs was committed to Poppæus Silvanus; but the project was ſoon after dropt, the plea of neceſſity ceaſing, or the motives for diſſimulation being removed. A law was propoſed by Domitian, and enacted by the ſenate, by which the ſeveral ſucceſſions to the conſulſhip, as they ſtood appointed by Vitellius, were declared null and void. The funeral of Flavius Sabinus *(a)* was performed with all the pomp annexed to the cenſorian dignity; a ſtriking inſtance of the caprice of fortune, which like the tempeſt, mixing the higheſt and the loweſt in wild confuſion, ſunk Sabinus to the depth of miſery, and, after his death, raiſed him to unavailing honours.

XLVIII. ABOUT this time, Lucius Piſo, the proconſul, was murdered. The particulars of that tragic event I ſhall relate with the fidelity of an hiſtorian; and if I go back to trace the origin

origin and progreſs of all ſuch atrocious deeds, the enquiry will not be without its uſe. By the policy of Auguſtus, and, afterwards, by the ſame ſyſtem continued under Tiberius, the legion quartered in Africa, together with the auxiliaries employed to defend the frontier of the province, obeyed the ſole authority of the proconſul. The wild and turbulent genius of Caligula changed that arrangement. Suſpecting Marcus Silanus, then governor of Africa, he transferred the command of the legion to an imperial lieutenant, whom he ſent into Africa for the purpoſe. By that meaſure, the power of granting military preferment was divided between two rivals: a ſtruggle for pre-eminence ſoon took place; their orders claſhed; ſtrife and emulation followed, and paſſions on both ſides inflamed the diſpute. In proceſs of time, the imperial lieutenant gained the aſcendant. His continual reſidence on the ſpot gave him the advantage, and, as is uſual in ſubordinate ſtations, the ſecond in authority was the moſt eager to graſp at power. The proconſuls, conſcious of their own dignity, deſpiſed the little arts of aggrandizing themſelves. They took care to act with circumſpection, and, content with perſonal ſafety, formed no ſchemes of ambition.

XLIX. During Piſo's adminiſtration in Africa, Valerius Feſtus had the command of the legion; a young man of unbounded expence; a voluptuous prodigal, and an aſpiring genius. He was nearly allied to Vitellius, and that circumſtance filled him with diſquietude. Whether it be true, that, in private conferences, he endeavoured to incite Piſo to a revolt, or, on the other hand, that, being himſelf ſolicited, he withſtood the temptation, muſt remain uncertain. No man was admitted into their ſecrets. After the death of Piſo, the public was diſpoſed to think favourably even of the murderer. The natives of the province, as well as the ſoldiers, were diſaffected to Veſpaſian. It is likewiſe cer-

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tain, that the partiſans of Vitellius, who eſcaped from Rome, endeavoured to fire the ambition of Piſo. They repreſented Gaul on the eve of a revolt, and the Germans ready to take up arms; they ſtated the dangerous ſituation in which Piſo ſtood, and open war, they ſaid, was preferable to a dangerous peace. In that juncture, Claudius Sagitta, who commanded the ſquadron of horſe, called PETRINA, arrived in Africa. Favoured with a quick paſſage, he got the ſtart of Papirius, a centurion, diſpatched by Mucianus, with ſecret inſtructions, as Sagitta affirmed, to aſſaſſinate Piſo. He added, that Galerianus, the proconſul's near relation, and alſo his ſon-in-law, had already met his fate. For the proconſul himſelf, there remained nothing but a bold and daring enterpriſe. For this purpoſe, two ſchemes preſented themſelves; one, by calling forth the province under arms; the other, by paſſing over into Gaul, there to ſhew himſelf at the head of the Vitellian party. Piſo remained deaf to theſe remonſtrances. In the mean time, the centurion, ſent by Mucianus, arrived in Africa. He landed at Carthage, and no ſooner entered that city, than he proclaimed, with an air of joy, that Piſo's affairs were in a proſperous train, and that the imperial dignity was already his. The people ſtood aſtoniſhed at a revolution ſo unexpected. The centurion deſired them to ſpread the news, with ſhouts and demonſtrations of joy, and, accordingly, the credulous multitude ruſhed to the forum, calling aloud on Piſo to make his appearance. The city rung with acclamations. About the truth no man enquired; all preſſed forward to pay their court to the new emperor. Piſo, in the mean time, alarmed by the evidence of Sagitta, or, perhaps, reſtrained by his own native modeſty, reſolved not to ſtir from his houſe. He examined the centurion, and finding, that the whole was a ſnare to involve him in a raſh attempt, and thereby give a colour to the intended murder, he ordered the ruffian to be put to death; not imagining, that,

that, by that vindictive meaſure, he could ſave his own life, but becauſe he ſaw with indignation the aſſaſſin of Clodius Macer, ready to imbrue his hands in the blood of the proconſul. Having made this ſacrifice to juſtice, he iſſued a proclamation, in ſtrong terms condemning the raſh behaviour of the Carthaginians. From that moment, renouncing all the duties of his ſtation, he confined himſelf to his own houſe, determined, that nothing on his part ſhould be the occaſion of new diſturbances.

L. FESTUS was duly appriſed of all that paſſed. The exceſſes committed by the populace, the death of the centurion, and other reports, magnified, as uſual, by the voice of fame, determined him to cut off the proconſul without delay. He diſpatched a party of horſe to perpetrate the deed. The aſſaſſins made a rapid march in the night, and at the dawn of day ruſhed, ſword in hand, into Piſo's houſe. Being men picked for the purpoſe from the Carthaginian, or the Mooriſh auxiliaries, they did not ſo much as know the perſon whom they intended to murder. Near his chamber door they met one of the ſlaves, and ſternly aſked him, Who are you? and where is Piſo? With a generous and ſplendid falſehood, the man replied, "I am Piſo." He was butchered on the ſpot. Piſo in a ſhort time after met his fate. It happened that he was known to one of the ruffians, by name Bebius Maſſa *(a)*, an imperial procurator in Africa, even then the avowed enemy of every worthy character, and, in the miſeries that followed, an actor frequently to appear in ſcenes of blood and cruelty. Meanwhile, Feſtus remained at Adrumetum *(b)*, waiting for the iſſue of the buſineſs. Having received intelligence, he proceeded to the legion, and there ordered Cetronius Piſanus, the præfect of the camp, to be loaded with fetters. His motive for this proceeding was a perſonal grudge, diſguiſed, however, under a pretended charge, that the priſoner was the friend and

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partiſan of Piſo. He puniſhed ſome of the ſoldiers, and rewarded others, with no good reaſon for either, but purely to give himſelf the important air of having cruſhed a civil war. A quarrel ſubſiſted between the Æenſians *(c)* and the people of Leptis; but by the interpoſition of Feſtus the diſpute was compromiſed. Thoſe cities complained of depredations committed in their reſpective territories, and both were preparing to hazard a battle. The Æenſians were, in fact, inferior in number to their adverſaries; but they had formed a league with the Garamantes, a fierce and ſavage race, that lived altogether by plunder, and, by conſequence, the people of Leptis were reduced to the laſt extremity. They ſaw their lands laid waſte, and were obliged to take ſhelter in their fortified towns, till the Roman cohorts and cavalry advanced to their relief. The Garamantes abandoned the ſiege, leaving behind them the whole of their booty, except what ſome of their flying parties had conveyed to their huts in the midſt of deſerts, or ſold to the inhabitants of diſtant regions.

LI. VESPASIAN, at this time, had received intelligence of the victory at Cremona, and the ſucceſs of his arms in every quarter. The death of Vitellius was announced to him by men of rank and condition, who had the ſpirit, in that rough ſeaſon of the year, to undertake a voyage, in order to be the firſt to communicate that important event. Vologeſes, the Parthian king, offered by his ambaſſadors to aſſiſt him with forty thouſand of his cavalry. Nothing could be more glorious than the ſituation in which Veſpaſian ſtood: the allies paid their court, and he was in no need of their aſſiſtance. He returned thanks to Vologeſes, deſiring, at the ſame time, ſince the peace of the empire was now eſtabliſhed, that he would ſend ambaſſadors to the ſenate. Veſpaſian now began to turn his thoughts towards Italy, and the affairs of Rome. The accounts, which he received concerning his ſon Domitian,

Domitian, were by no means favourable. The young prince was ſaid to aſſume beyond his years, and to tower above the rank even of the emperor's ſon. For the preſent, Veſpaſian thought fit to place his ſon Titus at the head of the army, and leave him to carry on the war againſt the Jews.

LII. TITUS, we are told, before he ſet out to take upon him the command, uſed his beſt influence to mitigate his father in favour of Domitian. "The tales," he ſaid, "of inſidious whiſperers "ought not to be regarded: a ſon may fairly claim a right to be "heard in his defence, nor ſhould a father harbour prejudices "againſt him. Fleets and armies are not always the ſtrongeſt bul-"warks: the beſt reſources of the ſovereign are in his own family. "Friends moulder away; time changes the affections of men; "views of intereſt form new connections; the paſſions fluctuate; "deſires ariſe that cannot be gratified; miſunderſtandings follow, "and friendſhips are transferred to others; but the ties of blood "ſtill remain in force, and in that bond of union conſiſts the "ſecurity of the emperor. In his proſperity numbers participate; "in the day of trouble, who, except his relations, takes a ſhare "in his misfortunes? Even between brothers, concord and una-"nimity are ſeldom laſting; and how ſhould it be otherwiſe, if "the father ceaſes to give a laudable example?"

Veſpaſian liſtened to theſe remonſtrances, charmed with the amiable diſpoſition of his ſon, yet not reconciled to Domitian. He deſired Titus to baniſh all anxiety, and proceed, with a mind firm and erect, in the great work of enlarging the dominion and the glory of the empire. For himſelf, it ſhould be his buſineſs to improve the arts of peace, and ſecure the welfare of his family. Veſpaſian's next care was to provide a ſupply of grain for the city of Rome. He ordered a number of ſwift-ſailing veſſels to

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be loaded with corn, and, though it was ſtill the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year, to put to ſea without delay. Rome, in that juncture, was reduced to an alarming ſituation, not having in the public granaries, when the fleet arrived, more than ten days proviſion.

LIII. The care of rebuilding the capitol was committed to Lucius Veſtinus *(a)*, a man no higher than the equeſtrian rank, but in credit and dignity of character equal to the firſt men in Rome. Under his direction the ſoothſayers were convened. Their advice was, that the ruins of the former temple ſhould be removed to the marſhes, and that the new ſtructure ſhould be raiſed on the old foundation; for the gods would not permit a change of the ancient form. On the eleventh day before the calends of July, the ſky being remarkably ſerene, the ground aſſigned for the foundation was encompaſſed with ribbons and chaplets of flowers. Such of the ſoldiers, as had names of auſpicious import *(b)*, entered within the incloſure, bearing in their hands branches from the favourite trees of the gods. The veſtal virgins followed in proceſſion, with a band of boys and girls, whoſe parents, male and female, were ſtill living. They ſprinkled the place with water drawn from three clear fountains, and three rivers. Helvidius Priſcus, the prætor, preceded by Plautius Ælianus, the pontiff, ſacrificed a ſwine, a ſheep, and a bull; and, having ſpread the entrails upon the green turf, invoked Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, praying of them, and all the tutelar deities of Rome, that they would favour the undertaking, and, with their divine aſſiſtance, carry to perfection a work begun and conſecrated by the piety of man.

After this ſolemn prayer, Helvidius laid his hand upon the fillets that adorned the foundation ſtone, and alſo the cords by

which it was to be drawn to its place. In that inſtant, the magiſtrates, the prieſts, the ſenators, the Roman knights, and a number of citizens, all acting with one effort, and general demonſtrations of joy, laid hold of the ropes, and dragged the ponderous load to its deſtined ſpot. They then threw in ingots of gold and ſilver, and other metals, which had never been melted in the furnace, but ſtill retained, untouched by human art, their firſt formation in the bowels of the earth. The ſoothſayers had directed, that neither ſtone nor gold, which had been applied to other uſes, ſhould prophane any part of the building. The walls were raiſed higher than before. Religion allowed no other alteration. To the magnificence of the former ſtructure *(c)* nothing but elevation could be added, and that, in a place deſigned for the reception of prodigious multitudes, was allowed to be neceſſary.

LIV. MEANWHILE, the news of Vitellius's death ſpreading through Gaul and Germany, gave riſe to two wars at once. Civilis, no longer managing appearances, declared open hoſtility againſt the Romans; and the Vitellian ſoldiers, rather than acknowledge Veſpaſian, were ready to ſubmit to ſlavery under a foreign yoke. The Gauls began to breathe new life and vigour, perſuaded that the Roman armies, wherever ſtationed, were broken and diſpirited. A rumour was current among them, and univerſally believed, that the Dacians and Sarmatians had laid ſiege to the encampments in Mæſia and Pannonia. Affairs in Britain were ſuppoſed to be in no better ſituation. Above all, the deſtruction of the capitol announced the approaching fate of the Roman empire. The Druids *(a)*, in their wild enthuſiaſm, ſung their oracular ſongs, in which they taught, that, when Rome was formerly ſacked by the Gauls, the manſion of Jupiter being left entire, the commonwealth ſurvived that dreadful ſhock; but the

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the calamity of fire, which had lately happened, was a denunciation from heaven, in conſequence of which, power and dominion were to circulate round the world, and the nations on their ſide of the Alps were in their turn to become maſters of the world. A report prevailed, at the ſame time, that the chieftains of Gaul, who had been employed by Otho againſt Vitellius, bound themſelves by a ſolemn league, if the civil diſſenſions of Rome continued, to watch their opportunity, and by one brave effort recover their natural independance.

LV. BEFORE the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, this confederacy was a profound ſecret. That tragic event no ſooner happened, than a negociation took place between Civilis and Claſſicus, who commanded a ſquadron of Treverian horſe, and was, at that time, a leading chief among the Gauls, in fame and wealth ſurpaſſing the reſt of his countrymen. He derived his origin from a royal line; a race of men, who had made themſelves famous for the wiſdom of their counſels, and their courage in the field. Thus deſcended, Claſſicus made it his boaſt, that he was the hereditary enemy, not the ally of Rome. His plot was ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus; the former, a Treverian; the latter, one of the Lingones. Tutor had been preferred by Vitellius to a command on the banks of the Rhine. Sabinus to his natural vanity united the pride, however ill-founded, of an illuſtrious deſcent. He pretended, that his great grandmother attracted the regard of Julius Cæſar, during his wars in Germany, and from that embrace he deduced his pedigree.

The conſpirators made it their buſineſs, in ſecret conferences, to ſound the temper of others; and, having drawn into their plot a number of accomplices, held a general meeting in the Agrip-

Agrippinian colony. A private houſe was their ſcene of action. In that city the public mind abhorred all dangerous conſpiracies. There were, notwithſtanding, ſome of the inhabitants, and a party of Tungrians *(a)*, preſent at the meeting; but the Treverians and Lingones gave life and vigour to the cauſe. Men of their ſpirit thought they loſt their time in debate. They broke out at once, declaring with vehemence, "That Rome was brought, "by the madneſs of her own inteſtine diviſions, to the brink of "ruin; her armies were cut to pieces; Italy was laid waſte, "and the city taken by ſtorm. In other parts of the empire "the legions have different wars upon their hands; what then "remains but to take poſſeſſion of the Alps? Secure the paſſes "over thoſe mountains, and Gaul will not only recover her "liberty, but eſtabliſh an independant empire. She may then "deliberate where to fix the extent and boundaries of her own "dominions."

LVI. This great and daring project was approved as ſoon as heard. How to diſpoſe of the remaining Vitellian ſoldiers was the next conſideration. A general maſſacre was propoſed. All agreed, that men of their deſcription, ſeditious, turbulent, void of principle, the murderers of their ſuperior officers, deſerved no quarter. And yet there were political reaſons for extending mercy: "The Vitellians might be rouſed to an act of "brave deſpair. It were better to entice them into the confe-"deracy. Let their officers bleed, and, after that ſacrifice, the "common men, conſcious of their crimes, yet entertaining hopes "of impunity, would be ready to join in any great and daring "enterpriſe." Such was the plan of their revolt. Their next ſtep was, by their agents and emiſſaries to kindle the flame of diſcord all over Gaul. The conſpirators, in the mean time, with a ſpecious ſhew of duty, ſubmitted to the commands of

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Vocula, determined to deceive him at firſt, and ruin him in the end. The plot, however, was not entirely concealed from the Roman general: he received intelligence, but in a difficult juncture, when his legions were incomplete, and wavering in their duty. Vocula found himſelf ſurrounded with perfidious ſoldiers, and ſecret conſpirators. In that diſtreſs he judged it beſt to play againſt his enemies their own inſidious game. With this deſign he ſet out for the Agrippinian colony. At that place he met Claudius Labeo, who, as already mentioned, had been ſent by Civilis to be detained in cuſtody by the Friſians. Having corrupted his guard, this man made his eſcape, and fled for refuge to the Romans. He now was willing to aſſiſt their cauſe. To that end he offered, at the head of a detachment, to penetrate into Batavia, and, by his influence, to engage the chiefs of the country in the intereſt of Rome. He obtained a ſmall party of foot and cavalry, and with that force paſſed over into the iſland, but attempted nothing againſt the Batavians. The whole of his ſervice conſiſted in prevailing on a party of the Nervians and Betaſians *(a)* to take up arms. With that reinforcement, he ventured to attack the Caninefates and Marſacians, not indeed in an open and regular war, but, in the ſtyle of a freebooter, by ſudden incurſions.

LVII. The Gauls found means to impoſe upon Vocula. That commander fell into the ſnare, and marched in queſt of the enemy. As ſoon as he approached the old camp, called Vetera, Claſſicus and Tutor, under colour of exploring the motions of the enemy, advanced to a conſiderable diſtance from the army, and, having there concluded a treaty with the German chiefs, threw off the maſk at once. They encamped apart, and began to throw up entrenchments. Vocula, with indignation, exclaimed againſt the meaſure. "Rome," he ſaid, "was not

"ſo

" ſo humbled by her own diviſions, as to become the ſcorn of " the Treverians and Lingones. She had ſtill great reſources, a " number of provinces firm in her intereſt; victorious armies, " and the auſpicious fortune of the empire. The avenging gods " were ſtill on her ſide. The fate of Sacrovir *(a)* and the trea- " cherous Æduans may be ſtill remembered. The overthrow of " Vindex *(b)* is a more recent inſtance. A ſingle battle was ſuffi- " cient to quell thoſe inſurrections, and what have the violators " of all good faith to expect at preſent? The ſame gods, the " ſame vengeance, the ſame fate awaits them. Julius Cæſar was " the perſon, who beſt underſtood the national character of the " Gauls. He knew how to deal with a perfidious race. Au- " guſtus followed his example. Galba granted an exemption " from tributes, and, by that indulgence, gave encouragement to " ſedition. Your burthen has been leſſened, and rebellion is your " gratitude: when you are once more ſubdued, and reduced to " poverty, you will then be taught that ſubmiſſion is the duty of " the vanquiſhed." The tone of firmneſs, and even ferocity, with which this ſpeech was uttered, made no impreſſion on Claſ- ſicus and Tutor. Vocula marched back to Noveſium. The Gauls encamped at the diſtance of two miles. The centurions and ſoldiers viſited them without reſtraint, and ſettled the price, for which they were willing to ſell themſelves. In that vile bar- gain and ſale, a Roman army, with a baſeneſs of ſpirit till then unheard of, ſubmitted to ſwear fidelity to a foreign power; and, to ratify the horrible contract, agreed to murder their officers, or deliver them up bound in chains. In this diſtreſs, Vocula was adviſed to ſave himſelf by flight; but that general was reſolved to face every danger. With a mind ſuperior to diſtreſs, he called his men together, and harangued them as follows:

LVIII. " I HAVE often addreſſed you, my fellow ſoldiers, but

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" never with ſo much anxiety for your welfare; never with ſo
" little concern for myſelf. You have conſpired againſt me, and
" I hear it without regret. Encompaſſed as I am by ſo many
" enemies, I can welcome death as the end of human miſery.
" But I feel for you; for you my heart bleeds inwardly. You
" are neither going forth to the attack, nor does the enemy offer
" battle. In either caſe, that would be the lot of war, and I
" ſhould be willing to ſhare the danger. You are now to draw
" your unhallowed ſwords againſt your country: Claſſicus ex-
" pects it; he hopes to make you traitors and parricides. He
" places before your eyes the empire of Gaul; he invites you
" to ſwear fidelity to that imaginary ſtate. But ſtill reflect for
" a moment: if fortune has deſerted you, if your courage fails, are
" there no bright examples tranſmitted to you by your anceſtors,
" to rouſe your valour? Have you forgot, how often the Roman
" armies, rather than deſert their poſt, have died bravely ſword
" in hand? The allies of Rome have ſeen their cities wrapped
" in fire, and with their wives and children periſhed in the flames:
" and what was their motive? They preſerved their faith in-
" violate, and they died with glory. Even at this moment you
" have before your eyes the nobleſt example: in the old camp,
" the legions, amidſt the horrors of a ſiege and the miſeries of
" famine, ſtill maintain their poſt, undiſmayed by danger, unſe-
" duced by promiſes. We have arms and men; a camp well
" fortified, and proviſions ſufficient for a long and tedious war.
" That there is no want of money, yourſelves are witneſſes:
" you have received your donative; and whether you impute it
" to Veſpaſian or Vitellius, it is the bounty of the emperor.
" And will you, my fellow ſoldiers, after all your victories, after
" routing the enemy at Gelduba and the old camp, will you now
" ſhrink at once, and ſully all your fame? If you dread an en-
" gagement, behold your walls and fortifications, your trenches

" and

" and paliſades: thoſe will defend you; with thoſe advantages " you may ſtand at bay, till ſuccours arrive from the neighbour- " ing provinces. Does your general diſpleaſe you? There are " other officers; there are tribunes, centurions, and, if you " will, there are common men to take the command. In all " events, let not the world hear the monſtrous ſtory, that Claſ- " ſicus and Civilis, with Roman arms and Roman ſoldiers, have " invaded Italy.

" But let me aſk you: ſhould the Gauls and Germans be able " to conduct you to the walls of Rome, will you there lift your " impious hands againſt your country? My heart recoils with " horror from the thought. Shall Roman ſoldiers be placed as " ſentinels at the tent of Tutor, the Treverian? Shall a Batavian " give the word of command? Will you ſerve as recruits to com- " plete the German battalions? And what is to be the iſſue? " When the Roman legions appear before you in order of battle, " what part will you act? Deſerters already, will you become " ſo a ſecond time? From traitors to your country, will you turn " traitors to your new allies? Bound by your former oaths, diſ- " tracted by your laſt, and between both confounded, you will " be loſt in a maze of guilt, deteſting yourſelves, and ſtill more " deteſted by the gods. Immortal Jove, ſupreme of gods, to " whom, for ſo many triumphs during a ſpace of eight hundred " and twenty years, Rome has bowed down with praiſe and " adoration, thee I invoke; and thee too, Romulus, thou mighty " founder of the Roman name! on thee I call: if it is your awful " will, that, under my command, this camp ſhall not remain " inviolate, yet hear my humble prayer; preſerve it from the " pollution of Barbarians; ſave it from ſuch men as Tutor and " Claſſicus. To theſe my fellow ſoldiers grant unſhaken virtue;

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" or, if that cannot be, inſpire them with remorſe, that they may " ſee their error, and avert the horror of flagitious deeds."

LIX. This ſpeech was heard with various emotions. Hope, fear, and ſhame, roſe in the minds of the ſoldiers. Vocula retired, with his own hand determined to deliver himſelf from a ſeditious army. His ſlaves and freedmen interpoſed, but their officious care reſerved him for a harſher fate. Claſſicus diſpatched his aſſaſſin, by name Æmilius Longinus, a deſerter from the firſt legion. That ruffian ſtruck the fatal blow. Herennius and Numiſius, who had each the command of a legion, were ſecured in chains. Claſſicus, in a ſhort time afterwards, entered the camp, with the pomp and apparel of a Roman commander; and though he brought with him a mind prompt and daring, he made no attempt to harangue the men, content with repeating the words of the oath. The ſoldiers ſwore fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. The murderer of Vocula was raiſed to rank in the army. The reſt were rewarded in proportion to their crimes. Tutor and Claſſicus took their different ſhares in the conduct of the war. Tutor proceeeded with a ſtrong force to the Agrippinian colony, and, having inveſted the place, compelled the inhabitants to bind themſelves by an oath to the new empire. He exacted the ſame ſubmiſſion from the ſoldiers ſtationed on the Upper Rhine. Claſſicus marched to Magontiacum, and, by his order, the tribunes, who refuſed obedience, were put to death. The præfect of the camp betook himſelf to flight. From thoſe who ſubmitted, Claſſicus ſelected the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their profligacy, and ſent them to the old camp, with directions, to promiſe a free pardon to all who were willing to ſurrender, and, in caſe of wilful obſtinacy, to give notice, that famine, the devouring ſword, and all the horrors of military vengeance, would be

be their portion. To theſe inſtructions the meſſengers added their own example, and the motives that influenced their conduct.

LX. The beſieged were now in the laſt diſtreſs. Their ſenſe of duty was ſtill an active principle, and, on the other hand, famine ſtared them in the face. Between honour and infamy they were held in ſuſpenſe, and the conflict was for ſome time undecided. Their ſtore of proviſions was exhauſted. They were in want, not only of common food, but even of ſuch as neceſſity might ſuggeſt. They had lived on horſe-fleſh; their beaſts of burthen were conſumed, and even of animals impure and filthy none remained. Reduced to this extremity, they tore up ſhrubs by the root; they broke down twigs and branches; they gathered the wretched herbs that grew penuriouſly between the ſtones. A generous band! exhibiting, in the laſt diſtreſs, an example of patience and heroic fortitude! Men for ever memorable, if they had not at laſt, by ſending deputies to ſue for mercy, tarniſhed all their glory. The haughty Batavian refuſed to liſten to their ſupplications, till they ſwore fidelity to the empire of Gaul. By the terms of the capitulation, every thing in the camp was to be delivered up to Civilis. A band of ſoldiers was, accordingly, ſent to guard the money, the ſlaves, the victuallers, and the baggage. The legions marched out deſtitute of every thing, with a ſtrong party to eſcort them. They had not proceeded above five miles, when the Germans, contrary to all good faith, attacked them with ſudden fury. The brave and reſolute died on the ſpot; others betook themſelves to flight, and were cut off by the purſuers; the ſurvivors made their way back to the camp. Civilis called the behaviour of the Germans a violation of the law of nations: but whether he was acting a part, or, in fact, had not ſufficient authority to reſtrain a body of undiſciplined Barbarians, muſt remain problematical. Having pillaged the camp, the Batavians

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vians threw in combuſtibles, and the whole was reduced to aſhes. All, who had lately eſcaped from the fury of the ſword, periſhed in the flames.

LXI. CIVILIS, when he firſt took up arms againſt the Romans, bound himſelf, by a ſolemn vow *(a)*, according to the cuſtom of thoſe barbarous nations, to cheriſh the growth of his hair, which was now waving about his ſhoulders, diſhevelled, long, and red. Thinking himſelf abſolved by the ſlaughter of the legions, he cut it ſhort for the firſt time during the war. He is ſaid to have given to his infant ſon ſome Roman priſoners, as a mark to be levelled at with little darts and arrows, for the diverſion of a child. It is worthy of notice, that in the height of his zeal for the empire of Gaul, he neither ſwore fidelity himſelf, nor required that act of ſubmiſſion from the Batavians. He relied on the valour of the Germans; and ſhould it be neceſſary to contend for the ſovereign power, he conſidered his own abilities and his fame in arms as a decided ſuperiority. Mummius Lupercus, the commander of a legion, was ſent, among a number of ample preſents, as a gift to Veleda, a propheteſs of the Bructerian nation *(b)*. She ruled over a large tract of territory. Her name was held in veneration throughout Germany. The ſuperſtition of the country aſcribed to numbers of women a præternatural inſight into future events; and, in conſequence of that perſuaſion, many have been revered as goddeſſes. Veleda, at that time, was the oracle of Germany. She had foretold the ſucceſs of her countrymen, and the deſtruction of the legions. Her name, in conſequence of that prediction, roſe to the higheſt pitch. Lupercus was murdered on the road. A few centurions and tribunes, who were natives of Gaul, were reſerved as hoſtages in the hands of Civilis, to bind the alliance between the two nations. The winter camps of the cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions,

excepting one at Magontiacum, and another at Vindoniſſa, were levelled to the ground, or deſtroyed by fire.

LXII. The thirteenth legion, with the auxiliaries that ſurrendered at the ſame time, received orders to march, on a day appointed, from Noveſium to the colony of the Treverians. The interval was big with anxiety, terror, and diſtraction. The daſtardly thought of nothing but the maſſacre at the old camp, and expected to have that ſcene renewed. The better ſort, who ſtill retained ſome ſenſe of honour, bluſhed to ſee the humiliating condition, to which they were reduced. "What kind of march "were they to undertake? and who was to conduct them? It "was their own act, they ſaid, that made the Barbarians arbiters "of life and death: every thing depends upon their will and "pleaſure." Others cared for nothing but their money and their effects. To pack up what they valued moſt, and brace it round their bodies, was their only employment. About ſhame and diſhonour they felt no ſolicitude. A few prepared their arms, as if for the field of battle. The fatal day arrived, more diſmal and afflicting than their imaginations had repreſented it. In the camp their wretched appearance paſſed without notice: the open field and the glare of day diſplayed a ſcene of deformity. The images of the emperors were torn down from the enſigns; and the Roman ſtandards, ſtripped of their ornaments, ſeemed to droop in diſgrace, while the colours of the Gauls fluttered in the air, and glittered to the eye. The march was ſlow, ſilent, melancholy; a long and diſmal train, reſembling a funeral proceſſion. Claudius Sanctus, a man deformed by the loſs of an eye, of a ferocious countenance, and remarkable ſtupidity, was their leader. Their diſgrace was aggravated by the arrival of another legion from the camp at Bonn. This wretched ſtate of captivity was rumoured about the country, and the people, who a little before

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before ſhuddered at the Roman name, flocked together in crowds to behold their reverſe of fortune. The fields were deſerted; houſes were left empty; a prodigious multitude aſſembled from all quarters to enjoy the novelty of the ſpectacle. The inſolence of the rabble was more than the ſquadron of horſe, called PICENTINA *(a)*, had patience to endure. They marched off in diſdain, directing their route towards Magontiacum; nor could Sanctus, their commander, by threats or menaces divert them from their purpoſe. In their way they met Longinus, the murderer of Vocula, and killed him on the ſpot. By that ſacrifice they began to expiate their own diſgrace. The legions, without altering their courſe, proceeded to the city of the Treverians, and pitched their tents under the walls.

LXIII. CIVILIS and Claſſicus, elated with ſucceſs, had it in contemplation to give the Agrippinian colony to the fury of the ſoldiers. Their own natural ferocity and love of plunder conſpired to prompt them to this act of barbarity; but motives of policy counterbalanced their inclinations. They knew that to the founders of a new empire the fame of clemency is always an advantage. Civilis had other reaſons: his ſon, on the firſt breaking out of the war, was taken into cuſtody by the Agrippinians, and treated with marks of reſpect. Civilis felt the obligation, and gratitude touched his heart; but the nations beyond the Rhine ſaw the opulence of the place, and the increaſe of population, with an eye of envy. They inſiſted, that, to terminate the war, it was neceſſary either to make it an open city for all Germany, or to demoliſh it at once, and, by that ſtroke, exterminate the Ubian race.

LXIV. THE Tencterians, a people dwelling on the oppoſite bank of the Rhine, thought fit to ſend ambaſſadors to the Agrippinian

pinian colony, with directions to explain to an aſſembly of the ſtate the ſentiments of the German nations. The perſon among the deputies moſt diſtinguiſhed by his ferocity ſpoke as follows: "That you have reſtored yourſelves to your country, and are "become Germans in fact as well as in name, we return thanks "to the gods, whom we adore in common, and in particular to "Mars, the ſupreme of deities. We congratulate you on this "great occaſion: you will live, henceforward, among nations "born in freedom, and you will enjoy your natural rights. The "Romans, hitherto, were maſters of our lands, our rivers, and "even of the elements over our heads. They excluded us from "all intercourſe with you: if at any time we were allowed acceſs "to your city, it was under the eye of a guard; and what to a "warlike people was the worſt indignity, we were forced to viſit "you without our arms, defenceleſs and almoſt naked, nay, "obliged to pay a tax for the favour. Would you now eſtabliſh "our mutual friendſhip on a firm foundation? Theſe are the con-"ditions: demoliſh the walls of your city, thoſe monuments of "your former ſlavery. The fierceſt animals, if you keep them "cloſe confined, grow mild in time, and forget their nature. "Riſe at once, and by a general maſſacre extirpate the Roman "race. Liberty and the preſence of a maſter are incompatible. "When you have deſtroyed your enemies, let their goods be "brought into a common ſtock; allow no embezzlement, nor "ſuffer any man to think of his own private advantage. Our "common anceſtors enjoyed both banks of the Rhine: let thoſe "rights be now reſtored. The uſe of light and air is given by "nature to us all, and the ſame liberal hand has opened to the "brave and valiant a free paſſage to every region of the globe. "Revive the cuſtoms of your anceſtors; reſtore the primitive "laws, and renounce the charm of baneful pleaſures. The "Romans, hitherto, have waged a war of luxury, and have ſuc-

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" ceeded more by their vices *(a)*, than by their valour. Prove " yourſelves Germans, ſhake off the yoke; be a regenerated, a " brave, unmixed, and warlike people; you will then be upon a " footing of equality with your neighbours: in time, perhaps, " you may riſe to the dignity of giving laws to others."

LXV. The Agrippinians deſired time for deliberation. If they complied with the terms, they trembled at the conſequences; and, in their preſent condition, a peremptory refuſal was more than they dared to hazard. Their anſwer was as follows: " As " ſoon as we perceived the dawn of returning liberty, we ſeized " the opportunity, with more zeal than prudence, to make com- " mon cauſe with you and the reſt of our German relatives. But " when the Roman armies are aſſembling on every ſide, is that " a time to demoliſh our fortifications? The juncture requires " that we ſhould rather add to their ſtrength. If, heretofore, " there have been within our territories emigrants from Italy " and the provinces of Rome, the rage of war has deſtroyed " them, or they have made their eſcape to their native home. " As to thoſe, who formerly tranſplanted their families, and ſet- " tled amongſt us, they have been for a long time part of the " colony, intermixed and blended with us by intermarriages and " the ties of conſanguinity. Their deſcendants are our own pro- " geny: this is their native land, and this their country. And " are we now required to cut the throats of our fathers, our bro- " thers, and our children? That black deſign cannot be imputed " to the Tenćterians. A free commerce ſhall be eſtabliſhed: all " duties, that are a reſtraint on trade and liberty, ſhall be repealed. " Our city ſhall be open to you, but with this reſtriction: you " muſt come unarmed, and in open day, that theſe regulations, " at preſent new and therefore feeble, may gain ſtrength from " time, and grow into eſtabliſhed uſage. We deſire that Civilis

"and Veleda may arbitrate between us. Under their ſanction "the treaty ſhall be ratified." The Tencterians acquieſced. Ambaſſadors were ſent with preſents to Civilis and Veleda, and, by their mediation, all matters were adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of the Agrippinians. The deputies, however, were not admitted to the preſence of Veleda. To increaſe the veneration paid to her character, all acceſs to her perſon was denied. She reſided in the ſummit of a lofty tower. A near relation, choſen for the purpoſe, conveyed to her the ſeveral queſtions, and from that ſanctuary brought back oracular reſponſes, like a meſſenger who held commerce with the gods.

LXVI. STRENGTHENED by his alliance with the Agrippinian colony, Civilis turned his thoughts to the neighbouring ſtates, determined, if gentle meaſures proved ineffectual, to ſubdue them by force. The Sunicians *(a)* had already ſubmitted to his arms, and he had formed the youth of the country capable of bearing arms, into regular cohorts. To oppoſe his progreſs, Claudius Labeo advanced at the head of a conſiderable body of Betaſians, Tungrians, and Nervians, raiſed by ſudden levies. Having taken an advantageous poſt, where he commanded the bridge over the Meuſe, he ventured an engagement. The battle was, for ſome time, fought in a narrow defile with doubtful ſucceſs, till the Germans, with their uſual dexterity in ſwimming, croſſed the river, and charged Labeo's forces in the rear. Civilis, with a bold effort of courage, or in conſequence of a preconcerted meaſure, ruſhed among the Tungrians, proclaiming aloud, "that "the object of the war was not to procure for the Batavians and "Treverians dominion over the nations. We have no ſuch arro-"gance, no ſuch wild ambition. We court your alliance: I am "ready to join you; your general, if you will; if not, a com-"mon ſoldier." This ſpeech had its effect. The common men

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felt the impreſſion, and ſheathed their ſwords. In that moment, Campanus and Juvenalis, the leading chieftains of the Tungrians, in behalf of themſelves and their whole nation, ſubmitted to Civilis. Labeo made his eſcape. The Betaſians and the Nervians in like manner ſurrendered. Civilis incorporated them with his army, and, in a tide of ſucceſs, ſaw his ſtrength increaſing every day. The adjacent nations were overawed by the terror of his arms, or voluntarily entered into the confederacy.

LXVII. MEANWHILE, Julius Sabinus, having deſtroyed all public monuments of the alliance *(a)* between Rome and the Lingones, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed by the title of Cæſar. He put himſelf, ſoon after, at the head of an undiſciplined multitude of his countrymen, and marched againſt the Sequanians *(b)*, a neighbouring ſtate at that time faithful to Rome. The Sequanians did not decline the conflict. Fortune favoured the juſter cauſe. The Lingones were defeated. The raſhneſs, with which Sabinus ruſhed on to the attack, was equalled by nothing but the precipitation, with which he fled the field. He eſcaped to a cottage, and, in order to ſpread a report of his death, ſet fire to the place. It was generally believed that he periſhed in the flames. He lived nine years afterwards. The various arts, by which he protracted his days, and the ſubterraneous places, in which he lay concealed, together with the conſtancy of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina *(c)*, ſhall be recorded in their proper place. The victory obtained by the Sequanians checked the progreſs of the war. The ſtates of Gaul began to think with moderation, and to reflect on the law of nations and the faith of ſubſiſting treaties. The people of Rheims *(d)* ſet the example. By a proclamation diſperſed through Gaul they ſummoned a convention of delegates from the ſeveral provinces, in order to conſult which was moſt for the general intereſt,

intereſt, a ſettled peace, or a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty.

LXVIII. At Rome, in the mean time, theſe tranſactions, exaggerated always beyond the truth, kept Mucianus in a ſtate of anxiety. He had already appointed Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis to command the German armies; but, though they were both officers of diſtinguiſhed merit, there was reaſon to fear that they would prove unequal to the weight of the war. Rome, at the ſame time, could not be left without a ruler. From the unbridled paſſions of Domitian every thing was to be apprehended. Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were both ſuſpected. The latter commanded the prætorian guards, and, by conſequence, had arms and men in his power. Mucianus removed him from his office, and, to ſoften his fall, made him ſuperintendant of the public granaries. To reconcile Domitian, the known friend of Varus, to the meaſure, he gave the vacant poſt to Arretinus Clemens, a man nearly related to the houſe of Veſpaſian, and high in favour with the young prince. His father, in the reign of Caligula, held the ſame command, with conſiderable reputation. The name, Mucianus obſerved, would be welcome to the ſoldiers; and the new officer, though a member of the ſenate, would be able to diſcharge the duty of both ſtations. An expedition againſt the Germans was now a ſettled meaſure. The principal men at Rome had notice to attend the army. Numbers offered themſelves with views of ambition. Domitian and Mucianus prepared to ſet out, but with different motives; the prince with the ardour of youth, panting for the novelty of enterpriſe; Mucianus, with ſtudied delays, endeavouring to protract the time, in order to allay the impetuoſity of Domitian. A young man of his rank, hurried away by his paſſions, or miſled by evil counſellors, might, at the head of the army, ſo embarraſs

every

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every thing, that it would be impoſſible either to wage war with advantage, or to conclude an honourable peace.

Two of the victorious legions, namely, the ſixth and eighth, with the twenty-firſt from the Vitellian party, and the ſecond from the forces lately raiſed, had orders to march into Gaul by different routes; ſome over the Penine and Cottian Alps, and others over the Graian mountains. The fourteenth legion was recalled from Britain, and the ſixth and tenth from Spain. Alarmed by theſe preparations, the ſtates of Gaul, already diſpoſed to pacific meaſures, held a convention at Rheims. The deputies of the Treverians attended the meeting, and with them Tullius Valentinus, a fierce incendiary, and the moſt active promoter of the war. In a ſpeech prepared for the purpoſe, he poured forth a torrent of declamation, abounding with all the topics of invective uſually urged againſt the authority of extenſive empires, and all the injurious reflections, that could be caſt on the Roman name. To inflame ſedition was the talent of the man. Poſſeſſing a daring genius and a turbulent vein of eloquence, no wonder that he was the favourite orator of the vulgar.

LXIX. JULIUS AUSPEX, a leading chief among the people of Rheims, roſe in oppoſition to the Treverian. He painted forth the power of the Romans, and the bleſſings of peace. "Nations," he ſaid, "might be involved in all the calamities of war by men "of no account in the field. The coward may begin hoſtilities, "but the brave and valiant are left to ſhed their blood in the "quarrel. Even then the Roman legions were advancing, and "to oppoſe them would be a vain attempt." He urged the faith of treaties, and by that conſideration ſucceeded with men of ſober judgment: the young and ardent were reſtrained by the magnitude

nitude of the approaching danger. All admired the ſpirit of Valentinus, but the advice of Auſpex was adopted. The ſtates of Gaul had not forgot, that, in the commotions excited by Vindex, the Treverians and Lingones *(a)* had ſided with Verginius, and that conduct was ſtill felt with reſentment. The mutual jealouſy with which the ſeveral provinces beheld each other, was ſtill another reaſon to prevent their acting in concert. "Who was to "have the conduct of the war? Under whoſe auſpices were the "troops to take the field? And, if their efforts were crowned "with ſucceſs, where were they to fix the ſeat of empire?" By this ſpirit of emulation all were thrown into violent debate: they had gained no victory, and yet were quarrelling for the ſpoils. One ſtate talked of its alliances; another was rich and powerful; a third boaſted of its ancient origin, and all with arrogance claimed the ſuperiority. The reſult was a general reſolution to prefer their preſent condition to the uncertain iſſue of a dangerous war. Letters were diſpatched to the Treverians in the name of the ſtates of Gaul, requiring them to lay down their arms, while repentance might obtain their pardon, and their friends were ready to ſolicit for them. Valentinus oppoſed all terms of accommodation. His countrymen, by his advice, were deaf to all remonſtrances. But war was not the talent of their leader. Skilled in debate, he was a factious demagogue, and an inactive ſoldier.

LXX. The exertions of the Treverians, the Lingones, and other revolted ſtates, were in no proportion to the importance of the occaſion. Between their generals no concerted plan, no union of counſels. Civilis traverſed the defiles and devious parts of Belgia *(a)*, with no object in view, but that of making Labeo his priſoner, or forcing him to fly the country. Claſſicus loitered away the time in indolence, pleaſed with his imaginary empire, and ſwaying a ſceptre not yet in his poſſeſſion. Even Tutor neg-

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neglected to ſecure the banks of the upper Rhine, and the paſſes of the Alps. In the mean time, the one-and-twentieth legion, by the way of Vindoniſſa, penetrated into Gaul, and Sextilius Felix, with the auxiliary cohorts, forced his way through Rhætia *(b)*. He was joined by a ſquadron of horſe, embodied firſt by Vitellius, and afterwards liſted under Veſpaſian. Their commanding officer was Julius Briganticus, whoſe mother was the ſiſter of Civilis. The uncle and the nephew hated each other, and, as is often the caſe in family quarrels, their animoſity was deep, envenomed, and implacable. Tutor found means to augment his army by new muſters in the country of the Vangiones *(c)*, the Caracatians, and Tribocians. He added a body of Roman veterans, both horſe and foot, whom he had either inveigled by promiſes, or compelled by menaces. A cohort detached by Sextilius Felix appeared in ſight. The veteran legionaries put the whole corps to the ſword; but ſeeing the approach of Roman generals and a Roman army, they went over to that ſide, and by a ſecond deſertion atoned for the diſgrace of the firſt. The Tribocians, the Vangiones, and the Caracatians followed their example.

Tutor, being now deſerted by all but his countrymen the Treverians, thought it beſt to make his retreat. He avoided Magontiacum, and made the beſt of his way to Bingium *(d)*, where, having deſtroyed the bridge over the river Nava *(e)*, he thought himſelf poſted to advantage. Felix, with a cohort under his command, hung cloſely on his rear. Having found a fordable place, his men croſſed the river, and ruſhed on to the attack. Tutor was put to the rout, and totally defeated. The Treverians, ſtruck with terror, laid down their arms, and diſperſed themſelves about the country. Some of their chiefs, to claim the merit of a voluntary ſubmiſſion, fled for refuge to ſuch ſtates,

as

as had not joined in the revolt. The legions, which had been removed, as already mentioned, from Noveſium and Bonn to the territory of the Treverians, ſeized their opportunity to renew their oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian. Valentinus was abſent in ſome other quarter. He returned, breathing vengeance, and bent on new commotions; but the legions quitted the country, and purſued their route to *(f)* Mediomatricum, a city in alliance with Rome. By the zeal and ardour of Tutor and Valentinus the Treverians were once more incited to take up arms. To ſtrengthen the band of union by cutting off all hopes of pardon, they murdered Herennius and Numiſius, two commanders of legions; and by that exploit hoped to rouſe the deſperate valour of their countrymen.

LXXI. Such was the ſtate of the war, when Petilius Cerealis reached Magontiacum. By his arrival the face of things was changed. That general, always eager to give battle, and, by his natural temper, more diſpoſed to hold the enemy in contempt than to prevent a ſurpriſe, harangued his men, and by his manly eloquence inſpired them with new ardour. He deſired that they would hold themſelves in readineſs for action, as he was reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity that offered. The levies, which had been raiſed in Gaul, he ordered back to their own country, with directions to publiſh every where, that the legions were ſufficient to defend the empire; and, therefore, that the allies might return to the employments of peace, ſecure from danger, ſince the Roman armies had taken the field. By this meſſage the Gauls were wrought to a more pacific temper. Their young men being thus reſtored to their country, they felt their tribute lighter; and, their ſervice being no longer wanted, their zeal roſe in proportion.

Civilis and Claſſicus ſaw the ſad reverſe of their affairs. Tutor

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was defeated; the Treverians were cut to pieces, and fortune began to ſmile on the Roman arms. In this diſtreſs, they drew together their ſcattered forces; taking care, in the mean time, to warn Valentinus, by repeated meſſengers, not to ſtand the hazard of a deciſive engagement. Cerealis was the more impatient to ſtrike a ſudden blow. He diſpatched proper officers to Mediomatricum, with orders to bring forward the legions from that place, by the ſhorteſt route. Having, in the mean time, united the ſoldiers ſtationed at Magontiacum with the forces which he brought with him from Italy, he proceeded by rapid marches, and in three days arrived at Rigodulum *(a)*. At that place Valentinus, at the head of a large body of Treverians, had taken poſt in a ſtrong ſituation, defended on one ſide by the Moſelle, and in other parts incloſed by mountains. To the natural ſtrength of the place he added a deep foſſe, and a rampart of ſtones piled on one another. The Roman general was determined to ſurmount all difficulties. He ordered the infantry to ruſh on to the aſſault, while the cavalry gained the higher ground. He deſpiſed an enemy conſiſting of new levies; an undiſciplined army, to whom their fortifications could give no advantage which Roman valour was not able to conquer. The firſt aſcent was difficult. For ſome time the ſoldiers were retarded by the miſſive weapons of the enemy, but in ſpite of every obſtacle they gained the ſummit. A cloſe engagement followed. The Barbarians were hurled headlong from the ſteep, as if their fortifications tumbled down in ruins. In the mean time a party of the cavalry, having circled round the ſmooth edges of the hill, made the principal Belgic chiefs priſoners of war, with Valentinus, their general, in the number.

LXXII. On the following day Cerealis entered the capital of the Treverians. The ſoldiers panted for the deſtruction of the

city. "It was the birth-place of Claſſicus and of Tutor. By "them the legions had been beſieged, and maſſacred. What "was the guilt of Cremona? That unfortunate city checked the "career of a victorious army for a ſingle night, and, for that "offence, was ſwept from the boſom of Italy. And ſhall a "hoſtile city, ſtanding on the confines of Germany, be allowed "to ſubſiſt, and even to flouriſh, rich with the ſpoil of plundered "armies, and reeking with the blood of ſlaughtered generals? "Let the booty be added to the public treaſure; but let the place "be wrapt in flames, and the whole colony laid in ruins. That "juſt revenge would atone for the loſs of ſo many Roman camps. "The ſoldiers aſk no more." Cerealis dreaded the conſequence of ſuffering his army to retaliate by acts of cruelty, which, he knew, would brand his name with infamy. He checked the fury of his men, and they obeyed. The rage of civil war was over, and againſt foreign enemies there was nothing to embitter the ſoldier's mind. There was, beſides, another object, that touched every heart with compaſſion. The legions from Mediomatricum preſented a ſpectacle truly wretched. Conſcious of their guilt, they ſtood with their eyes fixed on the ground. Between the two armies no mutual ſalutation paſſed. The men in diſgrace heard the words of conſolation from their friends, and made no anſwer. They retired in ſilence to their tents, wiſhing to hide themſelves from the face of day. Fear made no part of their diſtreſs. They felt the infamy of their conduct, and ſhame and anguiſh of heart overwhelmed them. Even the men, who were fluſhed with their recent victory, ſtood at gaze in mute aſtoniſhment. They pitied their fellow ſoldiers, but did not dare to raiſe their voices in their favour. They ſhewed their compaſſion by their pathetic ſilence, and interceded for them with their tears. Cerealis removed all cauſe of apprehenſion. He declared that all that had happened, either in conſequence of diſſenſions

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among the ſuperior officers, by ſedition among the ſoldiers, or the treachery of the enemy, was the effect of fatal neceſſity. "But "now," he ſaid, "the revolted ſoldiers are once more the ſoldiers "of their country. From this day you are enliſted in the ſervice, "and from this day you are bound by the oath of fidelity. The "emperor has forgot all that has happened, and your general will "remember nothing." The penitent troops were admitted into the camp; and the general gave out in orders to every company, that no man ſhould preſume, upon any occaſion, public or private, to mention the revolt of the legions, or the diſaſters that happened afterwards.

LXXIII. CEREALIS, without loſs of time, called an aſſembly of the Treverians and Lingones. His ſpeech was to the following effect: "Eloquence is not my province: it is a talent which "I never cultivated. Arms have been my profeſſion: in the "field of battle I have given you proof of Roman valour. But "words, and what you call eloquence, are, in your eſtimation, "ſuperior gifts, of power to change the colours of good and evil. "It is not by the nature of things that you form your judgment: "the ſpeech of a ſeditious incendiary has more weight and in-"fluence. But a few plain words may prove a ſeaſonable anti-"dote. I ſhall, therefore, explain myſelf to you on certain points, "which, now the war is over, it will be more your intereſt to "hear, than mine to enforce. When the Roman generals at the "head of their armies entered your territories, and the other pro-"vinces of Gaul, they were neither led by their own ambition, "nor the luſt of conqueſt. They were invited by your anceſtors, "at that time torn by inteſtine diviſions, and driven to the brink "of ruin. You had called the Germans to your aid, and thoſe "Barbarians proved the worſt of tyrants: they enſlaved, without "diſtinction, thoſe who invited them, and thoſe who reſiſted. The "battles,

" battles, which Rome has fought with the Teutones *(a)* and " the Cimbrians, need not be mentioned. Her wars in Germany, " and the toil and vigour of her legions, with the various events " that followed, are all ſufficiently known. If the legions ſeized " the banks of the Rhine, can the defence of Italy be deemed " the motive? The protection of Gaul was the object, that ano- " ther Arioviſtus *(b)* may not aſpire to reign over you. And do " you now imagine, that Civilis, or the Batavians, or the nations " beyond the Rhine, have that affection for you and your welfare, " which your forefathers never experienced from their anceſtors? " The ſame motives, that firſt incited the Germans to croſs the " Rhine, will ever ſubſiſt: ambition, avarice, and the love of " new ſettlements, will be perpetual incentives. The Germans " will be ready, at all times, to change their ſwampy fens and " barren deſerts, for your fertile plains and fruitful valleys. On " your own ſoil they wiſh to lord it over you. They come to " ravage your lands, and liberty is the pretext. But the rights " of man, and other ſpecious names, are the language of all who " want to uſurp dominion over others."

LXXIV. " YOUR country, till you put yourſelves under our " protection, was at all times haraſſed with wars, and oppreſſed " by tyrants. Rome has been often inſulted, often provoked by " the unruly ſpirit of the Gauls; and what has been the uſe of " her victories? She required no more at your hands than what " was neceſſary for the aid of a government, that defends and " protects you *(a)*. To maintain the tranquillity of nations, " arms are neceſſary; ſoldiers muſt be kept in pay; and without " a tribute from the provinces, how are ſupplies to be raiſed? In " common with the citizens of Rome you enjoy every benefit. " Our legions are often commanded by you; you are governors " of your own provinces, and even of others ſubject to the em-

" pire.

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" pire. All poſts of honour are open to you; nothing is pre-
" cluded. Does a virtuous prince reign at Rome? though placed
" at a diſtance, you feel the mildneſs of his government. Does
" a tyrant rule with an irod rod? his weight is felt by thoſe im-
" mediately within his reach. Natural evils, ſuch as inceſſant
" rains, and barren ſeaſons, you are forced to bear *(b)*: political
" evils, ſuch as the avarice and prodigality of princes, ſhould in
" like manner be endured. As long as there are men, there will
" be vices. But vice is not without interruption. Better times
" ſucceed, and the virtue of a good prince atones for antece-
" dent evils. But, perhaps, you expect from Tutor and from
" Claſſicus a mild and equitable reign. Under their auſpices
" armies muſt be raiſed to repel the Germans and the Britons;
" and this, you fancy, will be done with lighter taxes than you
" pay at preſent. Overturn the Roman power (may the gods
" avert ſo dire a calamity!) and what think you will be the con-
" ſequence? The nations will riſe in arms, and the world will be
" a theatre of war. During a ſpace of eight hundred years, the
" mighty fabric of the empire has been raiſed by the valour of the
" legions, and a ſeries of victories; nor can that fabric be rent
" from its foundation, without burying all, who prevail againſt
" it, in one general ruin. In that ſcene of wild commotion, Gaul
" will be the ſufferer. You have gold and riches, thoſe great
" incentives of ambition, and the prime cauſe of war. Peace is
" your intereſt. Cheriſh it, therefore, and honour the city of
" Rome; a city, that protects her ſubjects, and is ever ready to
" receive the conquered upon equal terms with her own native
" inhabitants. Take warning from your own experience: you
" have known the ſmiles and the frowns of fortune; it will now
" be yours to ſhew that you have the wiſdom to prefer to a
" revolt, which may involve you all in ruin, a pacific temper,
" and a due regard to your own internal happineſs." This

ſpeech

ſpeech revived the drooping ſpirits of the Gauls. They expected to be treated with rigour, and their fears were diſſipated.

LXXV. The Romans were in poſſeſſion of the Treverian ſtate, when Cerealis received letters from Civilis and Claſſicus, in ſubſtance as follows: "Veſpaſian is no more; though the "ſecret is ſuppreſſed with care, the fact is well known. Italy "and Rome are reduced to the laſt extremity, by their own "diſſenſions. Domitian and Mucianus are high-ſounding names, "yet ſignify nothing. If Cerealis aſpired to the ſovereignty of "Gaul, Civilis and Claſſicus would reſt contented with the Bata-"vian dominions. If he preferred the deciſion of the ſword, "they were willing to try the fortune of the field." To this meſſage Cerealis returned no anſwer, but ſent the letter, and the perſon that brought it, to Domitian. Meanwhile, the Barbarians, in detached parties, came pouring down from every quarter. Cerealis was cenſured for ſuffering an army to be aſſembled, when he might have attacked the enemy in ſeparate diviſions, before they formed a junction. He had even neglected to fortify his camp, and at laſt contented himſelf with a foſſe and a paliſade.

LXXVI. The chiefs of the German army were divided in opinion about their future operations. Civilis was for waiting till the nations arrived from the other ſide of the Rhine. "The "Romans," he ſaid, "would ſhrink with terror from the ap-"proach of thoſe gallant warriors. The Gauls were of no "account; a race of daſtards, and the ready prey to the con-"queror. The Belgians are the ſtrength of their nation; and "yet thoſe ſtates are either in arms againſt the Romans, or with "us in their hearts." Tutor oppoſed this advice. "By pro-"tracting the war, the enemy would gain time to augment their "army. Their legions were advancing on every ſide. One was

"already

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" already arrived from Britain; others were on their march from " Spain, and more from Italy; all hardy veterans, enured to the " fatigue and the perils of war. The Germans, for whom we are " deſired to wait, are ſtrangers to diſcipline; men unaccuſtomed " to obey their officers, without any other guide than their own " caprice, and the impulſe of the moment. Beſides this, they " are a venal race; money is their paſſion, and with thoſe " ſinews of war the Romans are beſt provided. And when the " price of inactivity is equal to the wages of war, what ſoldier " will not prefer the former? If we offer battle, what force has " Cerealis to bring againſt us? His legions are the poor remains " of the German army, the refuſe of the ſword, all lately bound " by ſolemn oaths to the empire of the Gauls. On what does " the Roman found his hopes? He put to the rout an undiſciplined " handful of men under the conduct of Valentinus: but that very " circumſtance will be his ruin. The general and his army are " inſpired with a fit of valour, and will ſoon have reaſon to " repent of their raſhneſs. Let him hazard an engagement: it " will not be with Valentinus, a young orator, fluent in words, " but of no ſkill in war: the affair will be with Civilis and with " Claſſicus. The ſight of thoſe chiefs will cover the legions with " conſternation: their defeat, their flight, their famine, and " their ignominious ſurrender, will all be preſent to their minds, " and all will plunge them in deſpair. As to the Treverians and " Lingones, will they be faithful to the Romans? Remove their " fears *(a)*, and the next moment they are on our ſide." Such was the advice of Tutor. Claſſicus adopted it, and the meaſure was forthwith carried into execution.

LXXVII. THE chiefs drew up their men in order of battle. In the centre they ſtationed the Ubians and Lingones, the Batavian cohorts in the right wing, the Bructerians and Tencterians

terians in the left. They reſolved to attack the Romans in their camp. One diviſion poured down from the hills, while the reſt advanced with rapidity over the plain that lay between the high road and the Moſelle. The blow was ſtruck with ſuch ſudden vigour, that Cerealis, who paſſed the night out of his camp, received in bed the news of the attack and the defeat. He gave no credit to the account, but perſiſted with anger to condemn the folly of the meſſengers, till he ſaw a ſcene of carnage. The Germans had forced the entrenchments; the cavalry was routed, and the bridge over the Moſelle, which made a communication between the Treverians and the Agrippinians, was in poſſeſſion of the enemy. Undiſmayed in the moment of danger, he ruſhed forward, without waiting for his armour, to retrieve the loſs. He threw himſelf into the middle of the fray, and faced every danger, defying darts and javelins, animating the brave, and ſtopping ſuch as fled from their poſt. His example rouſed a ſpirit of emulation. Numbers went to his aſſiſtance. His happy temerity recovered poſſeſſion of the bridge, and that important paſs was ſecured by a choſen band.

Cerealis returned to the camp. He there ſaw the legions, which had been captured at Noveſium and Bonn, diſperſed in wild diſorder, their ſtandards well nigh abandoned, and the eagles in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Enraged at the ſight, he exclaimed aloud, "It is not Flaccus, it is not Vo-"cula whom you thus abandon; againſt me you have no charge "of treachery. The confidence which I repoſed in you is my "only crime. I was weak enough to believe that you repented "of your ſubmiſſion to the empire of Gaul: I thought you capa-"ble of remembering, with remorſe, your violated oath of fidelity "to your country: but I was too credulous. Add me to the "liſt of your murdered generals; ſtretch me in death with

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" Herennius and Numiſius; let it be the fate of all your com-
" manders to periſh by the hands of their ſoldiers, or to be
" butchered by the enemy *(a)*. Go, tell Veſpaſian, or, if you
" will, tell Claſſicus and Civilis (for they are nearer), tell the Bar-
" barians all your brave exploits, and make it a merit with them
" that you have deſerted your general. But remember that the
" legions are at hand. They will revenge my death, and your
" crimes will not remain unpuniſhed."

LXXVIII. THESE reproaches were founded in truth: the tribunes and other officers urged the ſame topics. The ſoldiers rallied, but could only form in cohorts, or in ſeparate companies. Surrounded as they were by the enemy, and forced to engage within the entrenchments, amidſt the tents and baggage, they were not able to preſent a regular line of battle. Tutor, Claſſicus, and Civilis, at the head of their reſpective diviſions, enacted wonders. They invited the Gauls to liberty, the Batavians to immortal glory, and the Germans to the plunder of the camp. All things conſpired in their favour, till the one-and-twentieth legion, finding an open ſpace, drew up in regular order, and, after ſuſtaining for ſome time the ſhock of ſuperior numbers, turned the fortune of the day. The gods, in that moment, became propitious to the cauſe of Rome. Nothing but their ſpecial protection could work that wonderful change, in conſequence of which, the conquerors, who the inſtant before were bearing down all oppoſition, fled in a ſudden panic from inferior numbers. Their conſternation, as they declared afterwards, was occaſioned by the cohorts that rallied after their defeat, and ſhewed themſelves on the ridge of the hills. They ſeemed to the Batavians a reinforcement juſt arrived. But the fact is, their love of plunder was the cauſe of their ruin. When they had gained the advantage, and ought to have purſued it, they began to quarrel

among themſelves for their ſhare of the booty. On the other hand Cerealis, by his negligence, well nigh loſt his army; but his bravery afterwards redeemed his character. Determined to make the beſt uſe of his victory, he took the enemy's camp on that very day, and razed it to the ground.

LXXIX. The interval allowed to the ſoldiers to repoſe from their fatigue was but ſhort. Cerealis marched to the Agrippinian colony, where the inhabitants were ready to deliver up the wife and ſiſter of Civilis, with the daughter of Claſſicus, all three left in their hands as hoſtages for the due performance of mutual treaties. They had, at this time, maſſacred all the Germans throughout their colony. For this act they dreaded the vengeance of an enraged nation, and applied for ſuccours, before the enemy could be again in force to renew the campaign, and revenge their ſlaughtered countrymen. For that purpoſe Civilis had already planned his meaſures. He depended on the aſſiſtance of a cohort of diſtinguiſhed bravery, compoſed of Chaucians and Friſians, and, as he imagined, ſafely poſted at Tolbiacum *(a)*, in the Agrippinian territory. At the head of this reſolute band he had projected a ſudden attack, but, on the road, had the mortification to hear that thoſe gallant ſoldiers were all deſtroyed. They had been invited by the Agrippinians to a ſumptuous feaſt, and, in the night, as they lay oppreſſed with ſleep and wine, their cottages being ſet on fire, the whole cohort periſhed in one general conflagration. At the ſame time, Cerealis made a forced march to the relief of the city. Civilis had now another care to diſtract his attention. He ſaw that the fourteenth legion, co-operating with the fleet from Britain, might haraſs the Batavians on the ſea coaſt, and lay waſte the country. That legion, however, marched over land *(b)*, under the conduct of Fabius Priſcus, to invade the Tungrians and the Nervians. Thoſe two ſtates ſubmitted to

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the Romans. The Caninefates, in the mean time, attacked the fleet, and either took or ſunk the greateſt part. By the ſame people a large body of the Nervians, who had taken up arms in favour of the Romans, was totally overthrown. Claſſicus, in another part of the country, fell in with a party of horſe, detached by Cerealis to Noveſium, and engaged them with good ſucceſs. Theſe, it is true, were petty advantages; but being frequent, they tarniſhed the fame of the victory lately obtained by Cerealis.

LXXX. DURING theſe tranſactions, Mucianus, who was ſtill at Rome, ordered the ſon of Vitellius *(a)* to be put to death. Political neceſſity was the colour which he gave to this proceeding: if the ſeeds of diſcord were not deſtroyed, the rude ſcene of civil commotion would never be cloſed. He ſtill continued to foſter ill will to Antonius, and, for that reaſon, excluded him from the train appointed to attend Domitian into Gaul. The affections of the army, he well knew, were fixed on a general, who had led them on to victory; and ſuch was the pride of Antonius, that, ſo far from bending to a ſuperior, he could not brook an equal. Being ſuperſeded by Mucianus, he ſet out, in diſguſt, to join Veſpaſian. The reception, which he met with from the emperor, though it bore no marks of diſpleaſure, did not, however, anſwer his expectation. Veſpaſian was divided between oppoſite motives: he knew that the ſervices of Antonius were too glaring to be overlooked, and that the war was terminated by his ability; but ſtill Mucianus by his letters continued to infuſe the rancour of his own private animoſity. The courtiers were alſo leagued againſt Antonius: they repreſented him in odious colours, as a man of high ambition, fierce, and overbearing. Nor did their malice fail to revive the reproaches of his former conduct *(b)*. Antonius was at no pains to ſoften prejudice. His arrogance provoked new enemies. He magnified his

his own exploits, and talked in degrading terms of other officers, particularly of Cæcina, a man, he ſaid, of an abject ſpirit, who had ſurrendered with diſgrace *(c)*. By this conduct Antonius gave umbrage to all. His conſequence declined, and the emperor, ſtill preſerving the exteriors of friendſhip, loſt all affection for his perſon.

LXXXI. VESPASIAN paſſed ſome months at Alexandria, having reſolved to defer his voyage to Italy till the return of ſummer, when the winds, blowing in a regular direction, afford a ſafe and pleaſant navigation. During his reſidence in that city, a number of incidents *(a)*, out of the ordinary courſe of nature, ſeemed to mark him as the particular favourite of the gods. A man of mean condition, born at Alexandria, had loſt his ſight by a defluxion on his eyes. He preſented himſelf before Veſpaſian, and falling proſtrate on the ground implored the emperor to adminiſter a cure for his blindneſs. He came, he ſaid, by the admonition of Serapis *(b)*, the god, whom the ſuperſtition of the Ægyptians holds in the higheſt veneration. The requeſt was, that the emperor, with his ſpittle, would condeſcend to moiſten the poor man's face and the balls of his eyes. Another, who had loſt the uſe of his hand *(c)*, inſpired by the ſame god, begged that he would tread on the part affected. Veſpaſian ſmiled at a requeſt ſo abſurd and wild. The wretched objects perſiſted to implore his aid. He dreaded the ridicule of a vain attempt; but the importunity of the men, and the crowd of flatterers, prevailed upon the prince not entirely to diſregard their petition.

He ordered the phyſicians to conſider among themſelves, whether the blindneſs of the one, and the paralytic affection of the other, were within the reach of human aſſiſtance. The reſult of the conſultation was, "that the organs of ſight were not ſo in-

"jured,

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"jured, but that, by removing the film or cataract, the patient "might recover. As to the diſabled limb, by proper applica- "tions and invigorating medicines, it was not impoſſible to reſtore "it to its former tone. The gods, perhaps, intended a ſpecial "remedy, and choſe Veſpaſian to be the inſtrument of their diſ- "penſations. If a cure took place, the glory of it would add "new luſtre to the name of Cæſar; if otherwiſe, the poor men "would bear the jeſts and raillery of the people." Veſpaſian, in the tide of his affairs, began to think that there was nothing ſo great or wonderful, nothing ſo improbable or even incredible, which his good fortune would not accompliſh. In the preſence of a prodigious multitude, all erect with expectation, he advanced with an air of ſerenity, and hazarded the experiment. The paralytic hand recovered its functions, and the blind man ſaw the light of the ſun. By living witneſſes, who were actually on the ſpot, both events are confirmed at this hour, when deceit and flattery can hope for no reward *(d)*.

LXXXII. VESPASIAN was now determined to viſit the ſanctuary of Serapis, in order to conſult the god about the future fortune of the empire. Having given orders to remove all intruders, he entered the temple. While he adored the deity of the place, he perceived, in the midſt of his devotion, a man of principal note among the Ægyptians advancing behind him *(a)*. The name of this perſon was Baſilides, who, at that moment, was known to be detained by illneſs at the diſtance of ſeveral miles. Veſpaſian enquired of the prieſts, whether they had ſeen Baſilides that day in the temple. He aſked a number of others, whether they had met him in any part of the city. At length, from meſſengers, whom he diſpatched on horſeback, he received certain intelligence, that Baſilides was no leſs than fourſcore miles diſtant from Alexandria. He concluded, therefore, that the gods had favoured

favoured him with a preternatural viſion, and from the import of the word BASILIDES *(b)*, he inferred an interpretation of the decrees of Heaven in favour of his future reign.

LXXXIII. CONCERNING the origin of the god Serapis, a ſubject hitherto untouched by the Roman writers, the account given by the prieſts of Ægypt is as follows. At the time when Ptolemy, the firſt of the Macedonian race, who ſettled the government of Ægypt, had raiſed walls and ramparts to defend the new-built city of Alexandria, and afterwards gave a temple and the rites of national worſhip, a youth of graceful mien, and ſize above the human form, appeared to him in a midnight viſion, commanding him to ſend ſome of his truſty friends as far as Pontus, to bring from that place into Ægypt the ſtatue of the preternatural being then before him. By his compliance with thoſe directions the proſperity of the whole kingdom would be advanced, and the city, which ſhould be ſo happy as to poſſeſs that valuable treaſure, would be great among the nations. In that inſtant the youth was ſeen mounting to heaven in a column of fire. Ptolemy had recourſe to the Ægyptian prieſts, the uſual interpreters of dreams and prodigies. But thoſe religioniſts had no knowledge of Pontus, nor of any foreign modes of worſhip. Timotheus, the Athenian, a man deſcended from the race of the Eumolpides *(a)*, was called in to their aſſiſtance. Ptolemy had, before this time, invited him from the city of Eleuſis, to preſide over the myſteries and the eſtabliſhed worſhip of the country. He now deſired Timotheus to explain what god had viſited the king in his dreams, and what were the rites and ceremonies of his new religion. Timotheus addreſſed himſelf to ſuch as had travelled into Pontus, and, upon enquiry, learned that there was in thoſe parts a city called Sinope *(b)*, and near it a temple of great celebrity, ſacred to Pluto. Such was the opinion of the natives,

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natives, founded on tradition, and confirmed by the ſtatue of the god erected in the temple, with a female form at his ſide, ſuppoſed to be Proſerpina. Ptolemy, like other kings, was eaſily alarmed; but, ſoon recovering from his apprehenſions, forgot the whole buſineſs, addicting himſelf entirely to his pleaſures, and little ſolicitous about religious matters. The ſame form appeared to him a ſecond time, arrayed in terror, and in a tone of menace denouncing vengeance on the king and his whole empire, if the orders already given were not obeyed. After this viſitation Ptolemy ſent his deputies with magnificent preſents to Scydrothemis, the prince then on the throne of Sinope. The ambaſſadors had it in their inſtructions to touch at the iſle of Delos, there to conſult the Pythian Apollo. They ſailed with favourable winds, and had a quick paſſage. The anſwer of the oracle was in explicit terms: "Purſue your courſe, carry off the ſtatue of my father, "and let that of my ſiſter be unremoved."

LXXXIV. HAVING reached Sinope, they preſented their gifts, and opened their commiſſion to Scydrothemis. That monarch heſitated for ſome time. He dreaded the diſpleaſure of an angry deity; the clamours of his people alarmed him; and, at times, the gifts and preſents of the ambaſſadors dazzled his imagination. The buſineſs remained three years in ſuſpenſe. Ptolemy never deſiſted from his purpoſe. He renewed his entreaties; he omitted no arts of perſuaſion; he added new dignities to his embaſſy, increaſed the number of ſhips, and made his preſents ſtill more magnificent. A dreadful viſion appeared to Scydrothemis, threatening dreadful conſequences, if he perſiſted in his oppoſition to the meaſures of a god. The king fluctuated between oppoſite counſels. His delay was puniſhed by a variety of diſaſters, by ſore diſeaſe, the manifeſt ſigns of divine vengeance, and calamities increaſing every day. In that diſtreſs he called

an

an assembly of the people, and laid before them the orders of the god, the visions of Ptolemy, as well as those which he saw himself, and the miseries that threatened the whole community. The populace clamoured in opposition to their sovereign. They envied the Ægyptian monarch, and, trembling for themselves, rushed in a body to guard the avenues of the temple. Common fame, at all times delighting in the marvellous, spread a report, that the god, of his own motion, quitted the temple, and embarked on board one of the vessels that lay at anchor in the harbour. To complete the miracle, though a large tract of sea divided Sinope from Alexandria, the voyage was performed in less than three days. A temple, such as suited a great and opulent city, was built at a place called Rhacotis *(a)*, where, in ancient times, a chapel had been dedicated to Serapis and Isis.

Such is the history of the god Serapis, and his first introduction into Ægypt. There is, however, a different account, which places the whole transaction in the reign of the third Ptolemy, who, it is said, brought the statue from Seleucia, a city of Syria: others assert, that it was found at Memphis *(b)*, the celebrated capital of ancient Ægypt. Concerning the god himself the opinions of antiquarians are not less at variance. On account of his healing art, he is by some called Æsculapius; by others, Osiris, the most ancient deity of the country; and many, who think him the governing mind of the universe, give him the name of Jupiter. But the prevailing doctrine maintains that Pluto is the true deity. That hypothesis is either founded on the reasoning of mystic interpreters, or confirmed by certain symbols, that manifest the attributes of the god.

LXXXV. We return to the affairs of Rome. Domitian and Mucianus set out on their expedition. They had hardly reached

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the foot of the Alps, when they received advice of the victory gained by Cerealis over the Treverians. Of this news they entertained no doubt when they ſaw Valentinus *(a)*, brought in a priſoner, loaded with irons. Even in ruin that gallant chief appeared with a mind unconquered. The ſpirit, that animated him in the field, was ſtill viſible in his countenance. He was heard in vindication of his conduct; but curioſity and a deſire to try the ſpirit of the man were the only motives. Being condemned to ſuffer death, he perſevered with unſhaken conſtancy. In his laſt moments he was told, with an air of inſult, that his country was reduced to ſubjection; he calmly anſwered, "You have reconciled me to my fate: I die without regret." Mucianus thought it time to change the plan of his expedition. The deſign had been long rolling in his mind, though he now ſtarted it as a new ſcheme ſuggeſted by the events of war. "The gods," he ſaid, "had favoured the Roman arms, and cruſhed the turbulent ſpirit "of the enemy. At ſuch a time, it would ill become Domitian to "ſnatch the laurel from the brow of the general, who had fought "with ſuch brilliant ſucceſs. If the majeſty of the empire, or the "ſecurity of the provinces of Gaul were expoſed to danger, the "criſis would be worthy of the emperor's ſon; but the Caninefates and the Batavians were the proper quarry of inferior com-"manders. The prince might now proceed as far as Lyons. At "that place he might diſplay the pomp of imperial grandeur, ſu-"perior to the little ambition of engaging in petty ſkirmiſhes, yet "near at hand, and ready, if occaſion called, to undertake a great "and important enterpriſe."

LXXXVI. The veil was too thin to hide the deſigns of Mucianus; but to yield to his artifice, without ſeeming to detect it, was judged the beſt policy. Domitian proceeded to Lyons. At that place he is ſaid, by ſecret meſſengers, to have tampered *(a)* with

with Cerealis, in order to ſound the diſpoſition of that officer, and learn beforehand, whether, on the appearance of the prince at the head of the army, he would be willing to reſign the command. Whether Domitian had it in contemplation to levy war againſt his father, or to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his brother Titus, remains uncertain. Cerealis had the wiſdom to decline the overture, conſidering it as nothing more than the vain project of youth and inexperience. Domitian ſaw himſelf ſlighted by the ſuperior officers, and, in diſguſt, withdrew from all public buſineſs, never interfering afterwards, nor taking upon him to direct in ſuch inferior matters as had been heretofore committed to his authority. With a ſpecious appearance of humble content and modeſty, he choſe to live in ſolitude, pretending that poetry and literary purſuits (*b*) were his only paſſion. Under this artful diſguiſe he hoped to conceal the native paſſions of his heart, and to give no jealouſy to his brother. From his own frame of mind he judged of Titus, commenting with malignity on the milder virtues, that adorned the character of that amiable prince.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK V.

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Theſe tranſactions paſſed in the

Year of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls
823	70	*Flavius Veſpaſianus, Titus his ſon.*

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

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I. IN the beginning of this year, Titus was appointed by his father to complete the reduction of Judæa. This young commander *(a)*, while Veſpaſian was yet no higher than a ſubject, had gained a reputation for brave exploit and military talents. His fame and authority were now in their meridian ſplendour. The armies of the empire and the ſeveral provinces exerted themſelves with emulation to aſſiſt him in his enterpriſe. Titus, on his part, made it his ſtudy to ſhew himſelf ſuperior to the fortuitous advantages of his ſtation. Active in the field, and elegant in his manners, he endeavoured to merit eſteem by affability and a ſtrict diſcharge of his duty. He attended the works; he marched in the ranks, and mixed with the common ſoldiers,

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without impairing the dignity of his character. He was received in Judea at the head of three legions, the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth *(b)*; all experienced veterans, who had ſerved under Veſpaſian. To theſe were added the twelfth, from Syria; and the third, and twenty-ſecond, from Alexandria. He had, beſides, twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight ſquadrons of horſe. The two kings, Agrippa and Sohemus, joined his ſtandard. Antiochus ſent the forces of his kingdom. A formidable body of Arabs, with that animoſity which often embitters neighbouring nations againſt each other, took the field as avowed enemies of the Jewiſh nation. The number, that paſſed over from Rome and Italy, to ſerve as volunteers under a prince, not yet decided in his friendſhips, was conſiderable. With this force, Titus advanced into the enemy's country in order of battle, by his ſcouts exploring the motions of the enemy, and always prepared for action. In this manner he arrived at Jeruſalem, and encamped before the town.

II. BEING now to relate the progreſs of a ſiege, that terminated in the deſtruction of that once celebrated city, it may be proper to go back to its firſt foundation, and to trace the origin of the people *(a)*. The Jews, we are told, were natives of the iſle of Crete. At the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, they abandoned their habitations, and gained a ſettlement at the extremity of Lybia. In ſupport of this tradition, the etymology of their name is adduced as a proof. Mount Ida, well known to fame, ſtands in the iſle of Crete: the inhabitants are called Idæans; and the word, by a barbarous corruption, was changed afterwards to that of Judæans *(b)*. According to others, they were a colony from Ægypt, when that country, during the reign of Iſis, overflowing with inhabitants, poured forth its redundant numbers under the conduct

conduct of Hierosolymus and Juda. A third hypothesis makes them originally Æthiopians *(c)*, compelled by the tyranny of Cepheus, the reigning monarch, to abandon their country. Some authors contend that they were a tribe of Assyrians *(d)*, who for some time occupied a portion of Ægypt, and, afterwards transplanting themselves into Syria, acquired in their own right a number of cities, together with the territories of the Hebrews. There is still another tradition, which ascribes to the Jews a more illustrious origin, deriving them from the ancient Solymans *(e)* so highly celebrated in the poetry of Homer. By that people the city was built, and from its founder received the name of Hierosolyma.

III. In this clash of opinions, one point seems to be universally admitted. A pestilential disease, disfiguring the race of man, and making the body an object of loathsome deformity *(a)*, spread all over Ægypt. Bocchoris, at that time the reigning monarch, consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon *(b)*, and received for answer, that the kingdom must be purified, by exterminating the infected multitude, as a race of men detested by the gods. After diligent search, the wretched sufferers were collected together, and in a wild and barren desert *(c)* abandoned to their misery. In that distress, while the vulgar herd was sunk in deep despair, Moses, one of their number, reminded them, that, by the wisdom of his counsels, they had been already rescued out of impending danger. Deserted as they were by men and gods, he told them, that if they did not repose their confidence in him, as their chief by divine commission, they had no resource left. His offer was accepted. Their march began, they knew not whither. Want of water *(d)* was their chief distress. Worn out with fatigue, they lay stretched on the bare earth, heart-broken, ready to expire, when a troop of wild asses *(e)*, returning from pasture,

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went up the ſteep aſcent of a rock covered with a grove of trees. The verdure of the herbage round the place ſuggeſted the idea of ſprings near at hand. Moſes traced the ſteps of the animals, and diſcovered a plentiful vein of water. By this relief the fainting multitude was raiſed from deſpair. They purſued their journey for ſix days *(f)* without intermiſſion. On the ſeventh they made halt, and, having expelled the natives, took poſſeſſion of the country, where they built their city, and dedicated their temple.

IV. In order to draw the bond of union cloſer, and to eſtabliſh his own authority, Moſes gave a new form of worſhip, and a ſyſtem of religious ceremonies, the reverſe of every thing *(a)* known to any other age or country. Whatever is held ſacred by the Romans *(b)*, with the Jews is profane; and what in other nations is unlawful and impure, with them is fully eſtabliſhed. The figure of the animal *(c)*, that guided them to refreſhing ſprings, is conſecrated in the ſanctuary of their temple. In contempt of Jupiter Hammon, they ſacrifice a ram. The ox *(d)*, worſhipped in Ægypt for the god Apis, is ſlain as a victim by the Jews. From the fleſh of ſwine they abſtain altogether. An animal, ſubject to the ſame leprous diſeaſe *(e)* that infected their whole nation, is not deemed proper food. The famine, with which they were for a long time afflicted, is frequently commemorated *(f)* by a ſolemn faſt. Their bread, in memory of their having ſeized a quantity of grain to relieve their wants *(g)*, is made without leaven. The ſeventh day *(h)* is ſacred to reſt, for on that day their labours ended; and ſuch is their natural propenſity to ſloth, that, in conſequence of it *(i)*, every ſeventh year is devoted to repoſe and ſluggiſh inactivity. For this ſeptennial cuſtom ſome account in a different manner: they tell us, that it is an inſtitution in honour of Saturn *(k)*, either becauſe the Idæans, expelled, as has been mentioned, from the iſle of Crete, tranſ-

tranſmitted to their poſterity the principles of their religious creed, or becauſe, among the ſeven planets, that govern the univerſe, Saturn moves in the higheſt orbit *(l)*, and acts with the greateſt energy. It may be added, that the period, in which the heavenly bodies perform their revolutions, is regulated by the number ſeven *(m)*.

V. THESE rites and ceremonies, from whatever ſource derived, owe their chief ſupport to their antiquity. They have other inſtitutions, in themſelves corrupt, impure, and even abominable, but eagerly embraced, as if their very depravity *(a)* were a recommendation. The ſcum and refuſe of other nations, renouncing the religion of their country, flocked in crowds to Jeruſalem, enriching the place with gifts and offerings. Hence the wealth and grandeur of the ſtate. Connected amongſt themſelves by the moſt obſtinate and inflexible faith *(b)*, the Jews extend their charity to all of their own perſuaſion, while towards the reſt of mankind they nouriſh a ſullen, and inveterate hatred. Strangers are excluded from their tables. Unſociable to all others, they eat and lodge with one another only; and, though addicted to ſenſuality, they admit no intercourſe with women from other nations. Among themſelves their paſſions are without reſtraint. Vice itſelf is lawful *(c)*. That they may know each other by diſtinctive marks, they have eſtabliſhed the practice of circumciſion *(d)*. All, who embrace their faith, ſubmit to the ſame operation. The firſt elements of their religion teach their proſelytes to deſpiſe the gods, to abjure their country, and forget their parents, their brothers, and their children. To encourage their own internal population is a great object of their policy. No man is allowed to put his children *(e)* to death. The ſouls of ſuch as die in battle, or by the hand of the executioner, are thought to be immortal. Hence two ruling paſſions; the deſire

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of multiplying their ſpecies, and a fixed contempt of death. The bodies of the deceaſed are never burned *(f)*: they chooſe rather to inter them, after the example of the Ægyptians. With that people they agree in their belief of a future ſtate; they have the ſame notion of departed ſpirits *(g)*, the ſame ſolicitude, and the ſame doctrine. With regard to the Deity *(h)* their creed is different. The Ægyptians worſhip various animals, and alſo certain ſymbolical repreſentations, which are the work of man; the Jews acknowledge one God only, and him they ſee in the mind's eye, and him they adore in contemplation, condemning, as impious idolaters, all who with periſhable materials, wrought into the human form, attempt to give a repreſentation of the Deity. The God of the Jews is the great governing mind *(i)*, that directs and guides the whole frame of nature, eternal, infinite, and neither capable of change, nor ſubject to decay. In conſequence of this opinion, no ſuch thing as a ſtatue was to be ſeen in their city, much leſs in their temples. Flattery had not learned to pay that homage to their own kings, nor were they willing to admit the ſtatues of the Cæſars. Their prieſts, it is true, made uſe of fifes and cymbals: they were crowned with wreaths of ivy *(k)*, and a vine wrought in gold was ſeen in their temple. Hence ſome have inferred, that Bacchus, the conqueror of the eaſt, was the object of their adoration. But the Jewiſh forms of worſhip have no conformity to the rites of Bacchus. The latter have their feſtive days, which are always celebrated with mirth and carouſing banquets. Thoſe of the Jews are a gloomy ceremony, full of abſurd enthuſiaſm, rueful, mean, and ſordid *(l)*.

VI. The country of Judæa is bounded on the eaſt by Arabia *(a)*; on the ſouth, by Ægypt; on the weſt, by Phœnicia and the ſea; the northern frontier ſtretches to a great length along the confines

of Syria. The natives are ſtrong, and patient of labour. The climate is dry and ſultry; rain is ſeldom ſeen, and the ſoil is rich and fertile. Beſides the fruits known in Italy, the palm and balm tree flouriſh in great luxuriance. The palm is beautiful as well as lofty; the balm is of moderate growth. Its branches, when the juices circulate, ſeem to call for an inciſion, but they dread the application of ſteel; the veins ſhrink from its approach. The operation is performed with a ſhell, or pointed ſtone. The liquor, that diſtils from the wound, is of uſe in medicine. Libanus is the higheſt mountain in the country. It riſes to a great height, affording ſhade under its verdant groves, and, even in the ardent heat of that ſultry region, covered at the top with eternal ſnow *(b)*. From this mountain the river Jordan *(c)* derives its ſource, and the abundance of its waters. The ſtream does not diſcharge itſelf into the ſea: it runs into two different lakes *(d)*, preſerving through both a clear and unmixed current, till it loſes itſelf in a third. The laſt of theſe lakes is of immenſe extent, reſembling a ſea, but more nauſeous to the taſte, and, by its fetid exhalations, pernicious to the neighbourhood. The winds occaſion no undulation: the ſurface is never ruffled. No fiſh can live in theſe waters. The birds that love to dip the wing, avoid the place. The fluid element, for it can ſcarce be called water, ſupports, as it were on a ſolid expanſe, whatever is thrown in. Between thoſe, who cannot ſwim, and the perfect maſters of the art, there is no difference *(e)*: all float with equal caſe. At certain ſeaſons of the year, the lake throws up a quantity of pitch *(f)*, or bitumen. Experience, the mother of all uſeful arts, has taught men how to gather it. It is a liquid ſubſtance, naturally of a black hue. The infuſion of vinegar gives coheſion to the parts. When thus condenſed, it floats on the ſurface, and you may graſp it with your hand. Thoſe, who make it their buſineſs to collect it, draw one end into their boats; the reſt of the

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the maſs follows without toil or difficulty, and continues loading the veſſel, till the viſcous ſubſtance is cut in two. The ſeparation is neither made with iron nor with braſs. Touch it with blood, or with linen tinged with menſtrual evacuations, and the parts inſtantly divide. Such is the account tranſmitted to us by ancient authors. We learn, however, from modern experience, that this extraordinary ſubſtance, floating in heaps up and down the lake, is driven towards the ſhore, or eaſily drawn by the hand; and when the vapour, that exhales from the land, or the heat of the ſun has ſufficiently dried and hardened it, it is then cut aſunder, like wood or ſtone, by wedges, or the ſtroke of the hatchet.

VII. At a ſmall diſtance from the lake lie thoſe wide extended plains, which tradition ſays were formerly a rich and fruitful country, abounding with populous cities *(a)*, but long ſince deſtroyed by fire from heaven, and now a barren deſert. Amidſt the ruins, which ſtill remain, we are told that the marks of celeſtial vengeance may be clearly traced, and that the ſoil, conſumed and parched, has loſt the powers of vegetation. Whatever the earth produces, whether by the prolific vigour of nature, or the cultivation of man, nothing ripens to perfection. The herbage may ſhoot up, and the trees may put forth their bloſſoms; they may even attain the uſual appearance of maturity; but, with this florid outſide, all within turns black, and moulders into duſt. To ſpeak my own opinion, though it be true, that great and flouriſhing cities have been deſtroyed by fire from heaven, yet the deſolation here deſcribed may be accounted for from natural cauſes. The exhalations from the lake ſeem ſufficient to blaſt the vital principle of the ſoil, and to infect the whole atmoſphere. By conſequence, all manner of grain, and the fruits of the autumn, naturally periſh in a climate ſo hoſtile to vegetation. The river Belus *(b)* empties itſelf into the ſea that waſhes the coaſt of

Judæa. The ſands, which the ſtream carries down in large quantities, are taken up at its mouth, and, being mixed with nitre, diſſolve by the action of fire, and ſoon afterwards harden into glaſs. The ſhore is of ſmall extent, and, though conſtantly ſearched, theſe ingredients ſtill remain unexhauſted.

VIII. The face of the country is covered with villages. There are likewiſe towns of conſiderable note. Jeruſalem is the capital. The temple is diſtinguiſhed by its wealth, no leſs than by its magnificence. The fortifications of the city are its firſt defence; the royal palace is the ſecond; the incloſure, where the temple ſtands, forms the third. Even a Jew is not admitted beyond the portal. No man, except the prieſts, has acceſs to the interior parts. While the Aſſyrians, and after them the Medes and Perſians, were maſters of the oriental world, the Jews, of all the nations then held in ſubjection, were deemed the vileſt. At a ſubſequent period, when the Macedonian monarchy was eſtabliſhed, Antiochus, the reigning king, formed a plan to weed out the ſuperſtition of the country. To reform, if poſſible, ſo corrupt a race, he intended to introduce the manners and inſtitutions of Greece; but a war with the Parthians (Arſaces being then in arms) rendered that deſign abortive. In proceſs of time, when the Macedonians were by degrees enfeebled, when the Parthian ſtate was in its infancy, and the Romans were yet at a diſtance, the Jews ſeized the opportunity to erect a monarchy of their own *(a)*. Their kings were ſoon depoſed by the caprice and levity of the people. They returned, however, in a ſhort time, and, having recovered the throne by force of arms, made the people feel the weight of their reſentment. A ſcene of oppreſſion followed; citizens were driven into exile; whole cities were demoliſhed; brothers, wives, and parents, were put to death; and, in ſhort, every ſpecies of cruelty, uſual among deſpotic kings, was enforced

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with rigour by the uſurpers. They ſaw that ſuperſtition is among the inſtruments of tyranny; and, to ſtrengthen their ill-gotten power, they not only ſupported the national rites and ceremonies, but united in their own perſons the ſacerdotal and regal functions.

IX. POMPEY was the firſt Roman *(a)* that ſubdued the Jews. By right of conqueſt he entered their temple. It is a fact well known, that he found no image, no ſtatue *(b)*, no ſymbolical repreſentation of the Deity; the whole preſented a naked dome; the ſanctuary was unadorned and ſimple. By Pompey's order the walls of the city were levelled to the ground, but the temple was left entire. In the civil wars that afterwards ſhook the empire, when the eaſtern provinces fell to the lot of Mark Anthony, Pacorus *(c)*, the Parthian king, made himſelf maſter of Judæa; but being, in a ſhort time after, put to death by Ventidius, his forces retired beyond the Euphrates. Caius Soſius once more reduced the Jews to obedience. Herod *(d)* was placed on the throne by Mark Anthony, and Auguſtus confirmed the ſceptre in his hand. On the death of Herod, a man of the name of Simon *(e)*, without deferring to the authority of the emperor, uſurped the ſovereignty. He, however, was puniſhed for his ambition by Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the kingdom, by an equal partition, was divided between the three ſons of Herod. During the reign of Tiberius, things remained in a ſtate of tranquillity. Caligula *(f)* ordered his ſtatue to be erected in the temple. The Jews, rather than ſubmit, had recourſe to arms. Caligula was aſſaſſinated, and the conteſt died with him. In the following reign, the Jewiſh kings being either dead, or their dominion reduced to narrow limits, the reſt of Judæa *(g)* was converted into a Roman province. Claudius committed the adminiſtration to Roman knights, or to his favourite

vourite freedmen. Antonius Felix *(b)* was of the latter deſcription; a man who, from low beginnings, roſe to power, and, with the true genius of a ſlave, exerciſed the tyranny of an eaſtern prince. He married Druſilla, the grand-daughter of Anthony and Cleopatra. Mankind had then two extraordinary objects to gaze at; one in the perſon of Claudius, emperor of Rome; and the other, an enfranchiſed ſlave; each the grandſon of Mark Anthony *(i)*.

X. The Jews, though haraſſed by various acts of oppreſſion, continued to give proofs of their patient ſpirit, till Geſſius Florus *(a)*, in the character of procurator, took upon him the adminiſtration of the province. Under him a war broke out. Ceſtius Gallus *(b)*, the governor of Syria, endeavoured to cruſh the revolt. He fought a number of battles, in moſt of them unſucceſsful. After his death, which was, perhaps, haſtened by diſappointment and vexation, Veſpaſian, by the appointment of Nero, ſucceeded to the command. Supported by his great military character, and the good fortune that attended his arms, with the additional advantage of able officers under him, that general, in two ſummer campaigns *(c)*, over-ran the whole country, and made himſelf maſter of all the inferior cities. Jeruſalem was the only place that held out. In the following year, the war with Vitellius engaged his attention, and the Jews enjoyed an interval of repoſe. The peace of Italy being at length reſtored, foreign affairs demanded his immediate care. The Jews were the only nation that refuſed to ſubmit. The obſtinacy of that ſtubborn people filled Veſpaſian with reſentment. But what ſudden emergencies might involve a new reign in difficulties, could not be foreſeen. In order to be prepared for all events, Veſpaſian judged it the wiſeſt meaſure to leave his ſon Titus at the head of the army. The prince, as already mentioned, encamped under the

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walls of Jeruſalem, and drew out his legions in the face of the enemy *(d)*.

XI. The Jews appeared in force on the plains under the ramparts, determined, if ſucceſsful, to puſh their advantage, and, if obliged to give ground, ſure of a retreat within their fortifications. The Roman cavalry, with a detachment from the light armed cohorts, advanced to the attack. A battle was fought, but with doubtful ſucceſs. The Jews took ſhelter within their walls, venturing, however, for ſeveral days afterwards, to ſally out in ſmall parties, till, tired by repeated loſſes, they reſolved to ſhut themſelves up within their fortifications. Titus prepared to carry the place by ſtorm. To linger before it, till famine compelled a ſurrender, appeared unworthy of the Roman name. The ſoldiers were eager to brave every danger: courage, ferocity, and the hope of gaining the rewards of victory, inſpired the whole army. Titus had his private motives: Rome was before his eyes; wealth and magnificence dazzled his imagination; and pleaſure had its allurements. If the city was not taken by aſſault, a ſiege in form would detain him too long from the ſplendid ſcene that lay before him. But Jeruſalem ſtood upon an eminence, difficult of approach. The natural ſtrength of the place was increaſed by redoubts and bulwarks, which, even on the level plain, would have made it ſecure from inſult. Two hills *(a)*, that roſe to a prodigious height, were incloſed by walls conſtructed with ſkill, in ſome places projecting forward, in others retiring inwardly, with the angles ſo formed, that the beſiegers were always liable to be annoyed in flank. The extremities of the rock were ſharp, abrupt, and craggy. In convenient places, near the ſummit, towers were raiſed ſixty feet high, and others, on the declivity of the ſides, roſe no leſs than a hundred and twenty feet. Theſe works preſented a ſpectacle altogether aſto-

niſhing. To the diſtant eye they ſeemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city, there were other fortifications incloſing the palace of the kings. Above all was ſeen, conſpicuous to view, the tower Antonia *(b)*, ſo called by Herod, in honour of the triumvir, who had been his friend and benefactor.

XII. The temple itſelf *(a)* was a ſtrong fortreſs, in the nature of a citadel. The fortifications were built with conſummate ſkill, ſurpaſſing, in art as well as labour, all the reſt of the works. The very porticos that ſurrounded it were a ſtrong defence. A perennial ſpring ſupplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were ſcooped under the rock. The rain water was ſaved in pools and ciſterns. It was foreſeen by the founders of the city, that the manners and inſtitutions of the nation, ſo repugnant to the reſt of mankind, would be productive of frequent wars; hence ſo many precautions againſt a ſiege. Since the reduction of the place by Pompey, experience taught the Jews new modes of fortification; and the corruption and venality, that pervaded the whole reign of Claudius, favoured all their projects. By bribery they obtained permiſſion to rebuild their walls *(b)*. The ſtrength of the works plainly ſhewed that, in profound peace, they meditated future reſiſtance. The deſtruction *(c)* of the reſt of their cities ſerved to increaſe the number of the beſieged. A prodigious conflux poured in from all quarters, and among them the moſt bold and turbulent ſpirits of the nation. The city, by conſequence, was diſtracted by internal diviſions. They had three armies, and as many generals. The outward walls, forming the wideſt extent, were defended by Simon: John, otherwiſe called Bargioras, commanded in the middle precinct: Eleazar kept poſſeſſion of the temple. The two former commanded the greateſt number of ſoldiers; the latter had the advantage of ſituation. The three parties quarrelled

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relled among themſelves. Battles were fought within the walls *(d)*; ſtratagems were practiſed; conflagrations deſtroyed parts of the city, and a large quantity of grain was conſumed in the flames. Under colour of performing a ſacrifice *(e)*, John contrived to ſend a band of aſſaſſins, to cut off Eleazar and his whole party in one general maſſacre. By this atrocious deed he gained poſſeſſion of the temple. From that time two contending factions threw every thing into confuſion, till the enemy at their gates obliged them to unite in their common defence.

XIII. PORTENTS and prodigies announced the ruin of the city: but a people, blinded by their own national ſuperſtition, and with rancour deteſting the religion of other ſtates, held it unlawful *(a)* by vows and victims to deprecate the impending danger. Swords were ſeen glittering in the air *(b)*; embattled armies appeared, and the temple was illuminated by a ſtream of light, that iſſued from the heavens. The portal flew open, and a voice more than human denounced the immediate departure of the gods. There was heard, at the ſame time, a tumultuous and terrific ſound, as if ſuperior beings were actually ruſhing forth. The impreſſion made by theſe wonders fell upon a few only: the multitude relied upon an ancient prophecy, contained, as they believed, in books kept by the prieſts, by which it was foretold, that, in this very juncture, the power of the eaſt would prevail over the nations, and a race of men would go forth from Judæa to extend their dominion over the reſt of the world. The prediction, however, couched in ambiguous terms, related *(c)* to Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus. But the Jewiſh mind was not to be enlightened. With the uſual propenſity of men ready to believe what they ardently wiſh, the populace aſſumed to themſelves the ſcene of grandeur, which the fates were preparing to bring forward. Calamity itſelf could not open their eyes. The number beſieged

beſieged in Jeruſalem, including both ſexes and every age, amounted, according to the beſt accounts, to no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand *(d)*. All who were capable of ſerving appeared in arms. The number of effective men was beyond all proportion greater than could be expected, even in ſo vaſt a multitude. The women, no leſs than the men, were inflamed with zeal and ardour. If doomed to quit their country, life, they declared, was more terrible than death itſelf. Againſt a city ſo ſtrongly fortified, and defended by ſuch an obſtinate race, Titus ſaw that nothing could be done either by ſurpriſe, or a general aſſault. He threw up mounds and ramparts, and prepared battering engines. He ſtationed the legions at different poſts, and aſſigned to each a diſtinct ſhare of the duty. For ſome time no attack was made. In the interval, the Romans prepared all the machines of war, which either the ancients had employed, or modern genius invented.

XIV. It will now be proper to return to the affairs of Germany. Civilis, after the check which he received in the country of the Treverians, recruited his army by levies made in Germany. With theſe forces he fixed his ſtation in the old camp, called Vetera *(a)*, depending on the ſtrength of the place. The exploits already performed on that very ſpot, he hoped, would rouſe the valour of his men. Cerealis followed him by rapid marches, with an army more than double his former number, having been joined by the ſecond, the ſixth, and the fourteenth legions. To theſe were added the cohorts and cavalry, which had ſome time before received orders to come up to his aſſiſtance. They did not immediately obey; but ſince his victory they loſt no time. The commanders on both ſides were eager to engage. Delay was not the genius of either; but the two armies were ſeparated by a marſhy plain of vaſt extent. The natural humi-

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dity of the ſoil was increaſed by the ſkill of Civilis, who had contrived, by obſtructions thrown acroſs the bed of the Rhine, to ſtop the current, and diſcharge a vaſt body of water on the neighbouring plains. A treacherous ſpot like this, covered with an inundation, that concealed the ſolid ground, was highly diſadvantageous to the Romans, who carried a weight of armour, and had no ſkill in ſwimming. The Germans, on the contrary, had every thing in their favour. To make their way through floods and rivers, was their uſual practice. They were lightly armed, and their ſize and ſtature enabled them to wade through the waters.

XV. The Batavians advanced near enough to inſult the Romans. An engagement followed. The legions were thrown into diſorder. Their arms and horſes were ſwallowed up in the fens, while the Barbarians, acquainted with the ſhallows and fordable places, advanced with alacrity, yet not daring to attack the front of the lines, but making their impreſſion on the flank and rear. The conflict had no appearance of two armies engaged on a ſolid plain: it reſembled a naval fight, where the combatants are driven at the mercy of the waves. Wherever a firm footing could be found, to that ſpot every effort was directed. The ſound, the wounded, thoſe who could ſwim, and thoſe who were unuſed to the waters, were all, without diſtinction, involved in one general ſcene of diſtreſs. The ſlaughter, however, was inconſiderable. The Germans, not daring to hazard a battle out of their fens, returned to their camp. The event of the day made the generals on both ſides wiſh for a deciſive action; but they wiſhed with different motives: Civilis wanted to purſue his advantage, and Cerealis to retrieve his honour. Succeſs inſpired the Barbarians; the Romans were rouſed by a ſenſe of ſhame. The night was paſſed by both armies in a very different manner.

War

War ſongs and ſavage uproar reſounded from the German camp; the Romans continued ſilent, breathing revenge, and meditating future carnage.

XVI. At the return of day, Cerealis drew out his army. In the front he placed the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts, and, to ſupport them, the legions in the rear. He took poſt himſelf at the head of a choſen band, to act as occaſion might require. Civilis, inſtead of preſenting a regular line, formed his men in ſeparate diviſions. On the right ſtood the Batavians and Gugernians; the left was occupied by the Germans, with the Rhine on their flank. No general harangue was made to either army. The commanders, on both ſides, paſſed through the ranks, exhorting their men as the occaſion prompted. Cerealis called to mind the glory of the Roman name, and the victories of ancient as well as modern date. "You may now," he ſaid, "by one vigorous effort, "exterminate a baſe, a treacherous, and a vanquiſhed race. It "is not a battle you are to expect: you are going forth the "avengers of your country, to puniſh a rebellious crew. In the "late engagement you were inferior in number, and yet their "braveſt troops fled before you. You ſee the refuſe of your "ſwords; a ſet of runaways, who in their minds ſtill bear the "galling memory of their late defeat, and on their backs the print "of ignominious wounds." He next addreſſed the legions, in the ſtyle peculiarly ſuited to each. The fourteenth he called the conquerors of Britain. The ſixth raiſed Galba to the imperial dignity. The ſoldiers of the ſecond were now to fleſh their maiden ſwords, and in that field to conſecrate their banners and their eagle. From the legions he paſſed to the German army, and, with hands outſtretched, pointed to the fields around, and there, he ſaid, "There is your ſtation; that bank of the Rhine, "and that camp, was yours: wade through the blood of your

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"enemies, and recover your own." The general was heard with ſhouts of applauſe. The whole army panted for the onſet: thoſe, who were weary of a long peace, were eager to ſignalize their valour; while others, haraſſed out with the toils of war, hoped, by one glorious victory, to find the end and recompenſe of all their labours.

XVII. In the oppoſite army Civilis was neither ſilent nor inactive. "Theſe fields," he ſaid, "have ſeen your brave ex-"ploits. The Batavians and the Germans, at every ſtep they "take, tread on the monuments of their own fame, and the "bones of ſlaughtered legions. The Romans, whichever way "they turn their eyes, have nothing before them but memorials "of their own captivity, their defeat, and their diſgrace. If in "the Treverian territories the iſſue of the battle was unpropitious, "the event of that day ought to make no impreſſion. In that "field the Germans conquered; but, too eager for plunder, they "ſuffered the victory to be ſnatched out of their hands. From "that moment we have been in a train of ſucceſs, while the "Romans have had to ſtruggle with every difficulty. Whatever "could be done by the ſkill of your general, has been provided "for you. Fens and marſhes are the ſpot, where you are to "engage. The depths and ſhallows are known to you, and they "will be the grave of the Romans. The Rhine, and the gods of "Germany, are before you. In their view, and under their "protection, ruſh on to the charge; and let each man remember, "that on his ſword depends the welfare of his parents, his wife, "his children, and the liberty of his country. This day, my "friends, this important day will either prove us the glorious "rivals of our famed forefathers, or ſend down our names with "diſgrace and infamy to the lateſt poſterity." The Barbarians, according to their cuſtom, applauded by clanking their arms *(a)*, and

and dancing in wild diſtortion. They ruſhed on to the attack, diſcharging a volley of ſtones, and leaden balls, and other miſſive weapons. By this artifice, they hoped to bring on an engagement in the fens; but the Romans, aware of the ſtratagem, remained on the ſolid ground.

XVIII. The Barbarians exhauſted their ſtore of darts, when, the battle growing warm, they could no longer reſtrain their ardour. They ruſhed forward with impetuous fury. Their huge ſtature gave them every advantage. With their long ſpears they were able to goad and pierce the Romans, who with difficulty kept their footing on the ſlippery ſoil. A band of Bructerians had the ſpirit to quit the dam erected acroſs the Rhine, and ſwim to the ſhore. The Romans were thrown into diſorder. The auxiliary cohorts began to give way, when the legions advanced to ſuſtain the fight, and ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy. The battle was now on equal terms. In that moment, a Batavian deſerter informed Cerealis, that a party of cavalry might with eaſe wheel round the marſh, and at the further extremity attack the enemy in the rear. The ground, he ſaid, was, in that part, dry and firm, and there the Gugernians might be taken by ſurpriſe. Two ſquadrons of horſe, with the deſerter for their guide, reached the place, and ſurrounded the enemy. A ſhout of victory gave notice of this advantage. The legions, at the ſame time, charged in front. The Barbarians fled with precipitation towards the Rhine. Had the fleet been put in motion to ſecond the operations of the army, that day would have cloſed the war. The approach of night, and a ſudden ſtorm of rain, hindered the cavalry from mixing in the action.

XIX. On the following day, the tenth legion being arrived from Spain, Cerealis detached the fourteenth to reinforce Annius

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Gallus *(a)* in the upper province. Civilis at the ſame time was reinforced by the Chaucians; but even with thoſe ſuccours, he did not think himſelf in force to protect the Batavian cities *(b)*. Content with carrying off whatever was portable, he ſet fire to the reſt, and retired to the iſland. The Romans, he well knew, could not follow him without throwing up a bridge, and for that purpoſe they had no boats in readineſs. As a further ſecurity, he had the precaution to deſtroy the great dam *(c)* formerly laid acroſs the Rhine by Druſus Germanicus, leaving the river, thus freed from obſtruction, to flow in its natural channel towards the confines of Gaul. The conſequence was, that, the current taking a new courſe, the body of water, which ſeparated the iſland from the main land, ſunk into a ſcanty ſtream, and the ſpace between Germany and Batavia ſeemed to be one continued continent. Tutor and Claſſicus paſſed over the Rhine, followed by no leſs than a hundred and thirteen Treverian ſenators *(d)*. Alpinus Montanus, the deputy ſent, as above mentioned, from Cremona by Antonius Primus to the ſtates of Gaul, was one of the number. He was accompanied by his brother Decimus Alpinus. Theſe men diſperſed themſelves among the neighbouring nations, urging every topic that could excite compaſſion; and, by their gifts and preſents, in a country fond of tumult and commotion, they raiſed conſiderable levies.

XX. CIVILIS found himſelf in a condition to rekindle the war. He formed four diviſions of his army, with intent to attack on one and the ſame day the Roman cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions at four different poſts; the tenth legion at Arenacum *(a)*; the ſecond at Batavodurum; and the auxiliaries in their entrenchments at Grinnes *(b)* and Vada. In this enterpriſe, Civilis headed one of the diviſions; Verax, his ſiſter's ſon, led the ſecond; Claſſicus and Tutor had their ſeparate commands. In theſe

theſe ſeveral attempts, complete ſucceſs was not expected; but where much was hazarded, the iſſue in ſome quarter might be proſperous. The enemy knew that Cerealis was not an officer of the ſtricteſt caution; and therefore hoped, that, while he was diſtracted by different tidings, and, by conſequence, obliged to haſten from one poſt to another, he might be ſomewhere intercepted on his march. The party, deſtined to ſtorm the quarters of the tenth legion, judging it an enterpriſe of too much danger, deſiſted from the project; content with falling on ſuch as were employed at a diſtance from the camp in hewing wood for the uſe of the army. In this attack, the præfect of the camp, five principal centurions, and a few ſoldiers, were cut to pieces. The reſt took ſhelter within the entrenchments. At Batavodurum the puſh of the enemy was to deſtroy a bridge, which the Romans had in part conſtructed over the river. A fierce engagement followed, but the approach of night left it undecided.

XXI. The attack at Vada, under the conduct of Civilis, and at Grinnes, led on by Claſſicus, were attended with greater danger to the Romans. At each place the aſſault was made with reſiſtleſs fury. The beſt and braveſt of the ſoldiers periſhed on the ſpot. Among them fell Briganticus, at the head of a ſquadron of horſe; a man, as already ſtated, diſtinguiſhed by his zeal in the ſervice of Rome, and his avowed hatred of Civilis his uncle *(a)*. While the Romans were preſſed on every ſide, Cerealis, with a ſelect body of cavalry, came up to their relief. The fortune of the day was inſtantly changed. The Germans in a panic plunged into the river. Civilis attempted to ſtop their flight. His perſon being known, a ſhower of darts was diſcharged againſt him. He quitted his horſe, and ſaved himſelf by ſwimming acroſs the river. The Germans eſcaped by the ſame expedient. Tutor and Claſſicus were conveyed away in boats. The Roman fleet,

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fleet, notwithſtanding poſitive orders, failed again to co-operate with the land forces. Several of the mariners were diſperſed on different duties, and fear reſtrained the reſt. It was the conſtant fault of Cerealis never to allow due time for the execution of his orders. His deſigns were always ſudden, but the iſſue crowned him with glory. Where his conduct was liable to cenſure, fortune ſeemed willing to repair his error. Succeſs made him overſanguine, and, by conſequence, diſcipline fell into neglect. It was but a few days after this victory that he narrowly eſcaped being made a priſoner. His addreſs ſaved him from the hands of the enemy, but not from the diſgrace of his own miſconduct.

XXII. He had been as far as Bonn and Noveſium to inſpect the camps then carrying on at thoſe places, for the winter quarters of the legions. He choſe to return by water. Among the troops that followed his boats along the banks of the Rhine, no order was obſerved, no diſcipline, no night watch. The Germans ſaw their negligence, and took their meaſures accordingly. They choſe a night remarkably dark, and ſailed down the river. They landed without oppoſition, and ruſhed immediately to the entrenchments. They began with art and ſtratagem. They cut the cords of the tents, and butchered the men, as they lay ſtruggling under the load. Another party, in the mean time, attacked the fleet. They faſtened their grappling inſtruments, and began to hawl off the veſſels. Their firſt approach was conducted in ſilence; but the ſlaughter was no ſooner begun, than, to increaſe the terror, they rent the air with ſhouts and ſavage uproar. Rouſed by the anguiſh of their wounds, the Romans ſtarted from their beds; they graſped their arms, and ran wild about the avenues of their camp; ſome completely armed, but the greateſt part with their clothes thrown on in their hurry, and their ſwords in their hands. Cerealis, half aſleep, and

almoſt naked, owed his ſafety to a miſtake. The Barbarians ſaw the prætorian ſhip with a flag diſplayed, and, from that circumſtance inferring that the general was on board, took poſſeſſion of the veſſel. Cerealis had paſſed the night in another quarter. A woman from the country of the Albians, known by the name of Claudia Sacrata, had attracted his notice; and the report of the army was, that, when the attack began, he was happy in her embrace. The ſentinels, who had neglected the duty of their watch, made an excuſe that did no honour to the general. That they might not diſturb his reſt, their orders were to obſerve the ſtricteſt ſilence, and, by conſequence, making no ſignal, and uſing no watch-word, they themſelves were overpowered with ſleep. It was broad day-light when the Germans ſailed back, leading with them the captured veſſels, and among them the prætorian galley, which they afterwards ſent by the river Luppia *(a)*, as a preſent to Veleda.

XXIII. Civilis had the ambition to diſplay his naval armament. For this purpoſe he equipped all the veſſels that carried two ranks of oars, or even one. To theſe he added a prodigious number of ſmall craft, among which were thirty or forty fitted out like the Roman Liburnian galleys. The veſſels lately taken from the Romans carried ſails made with German mantles, and, with their diverſity of colours, preſented a ſpectacle not unpleaſing to the eye. The place choſen for this naval ſhow was the vaſt bay, reſembling a ſea, where the Rhine diſcharges itſelf through the mouth of the Meuſe *(a)* into the ocean. For fitting out this fleet Civilis had two motives; one, to gratify the national vanity of the Batavians; the ſecond, more important, to intercept the proviſions ſent from Gaul for the uſe of the Roman army. Cerealis, at the ſight of this unexpected parade,

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parade, was ſtruck with wonder; but nothing could ſhake his reſolution. He prepared to meet the Barbarians on their new element. He ordered out his fleet, inferior in number, but in the ſkill of the mariners, the experience of the pilots, and the ſize of the veſſels, greatly ſuperior. The Romans ſailed with the current; the enemy had the wind in their favour. A ſlight engagement followed. The two fleets exchanged a flight of darts; they paſſed each other, and parted. This was the laſt effort of Civilis. He gave up all hope, and retired beyond the Rhine. Cerealis laid waſte the iſle of Batavia, leaving, however, the lands and houſes of Civilis free from injury. This policy is not unuſual among general officers. It was now the latter end of the autumn; the rainy ſeaſon ſet in, and the river, ſwelled above its banks, cauſed an inundation throughout the iſland. The face of the country, naturally low and ſwampy, preſented a vaſt ſheet of water. No ſhips were at hand; the army was diſtreſſed for proviſions; and the tents and baggage were waſhed away by the flood.

XXIV. CIVILIS aſſerted afterwards, that the Roman army, in this juncture, might have been utterly deſtroyed, and that the Germans actually intended it, if he himſelf had not diverted them from the enterpriſe. The ſurrender of that chief, which followed ſoon after, made this account not improbable. Cerealis, by his ſecret agents, offered terms of peace to the Batavians; he tempted Civilis with a promiſe of pardon; and to Veleda and her family he held forth the advantages to be gained by terminating a war, which brought nothing but ſlaughter and calamity. "Her beſt policy," he ſaid, "would be to entitle "herſelf, by ſome meritorious act, to the favour and protection "of Rome. The Treverians were cut to pieces, the Ubians "ſubmitted,

" ſubmitted, and the Batavians were expelled from their country. " By the friendſhip of Civilis Germany had gained nothing but " ſlaughter, ruin, and the deſolation of families. Where is Ci- " vilis now? He roams about, a helpleſs wanderer, deſtitute of " means, a burthen to his friends. After paſſing the Rhine ſo " often, the Germans may now be ſatisfied. Freſh hoſtilities " would add to their guilt. The inſolence and the crime would " be on their ſide; on that of Rome, the indignation of the " legions, and the vengeance of the gods."

XXV. With this menacing ſtrain Cerealis had the art to intermix ſoothing promiſes. The nations beyond the Rhine were weary of war. The Batavians began to open their eyes. " To perſiſt," they ſaid, " were to provoke their utter ruin. " A ſingle nation could not undertake to deliver the world from " bondage. By the ſlaughter of the legions, and the deſtruction " of the Roman camps, what had been gained? New legions, " with greater vigour and ſuperior numbers, were poured in " upon them. If the war was waged for Veſpaſian, that end " was anſwered: Veſpaſian is maſter of the empire. If to " oppoſe the Roman people was the real object, the Batavians " are but a handful of men, unequal to the taſk. Let us turn " our eyes to Rhætia, to Noricum, and the other allies of Rome. " They are loaded with various impoſts. From the Batavians " Rome exacts no tribute: men and valour are all ſhe aſks. " This may be called a ſtate of freedom; at the worſt, it borders " on civil liberty. And if we are to chooſe who ſhall rule over " us, is it not more honourable to ſubmit to the emperor of " Rome, than, like the Germans, to bear the infamy of a female " reign?" Such was the reaſoning of the Batavian people. The nobles of the country charged every thing to the account of

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Civilis: "By his headlong violence they were hurried into the "war. In the miſeries of his country that reſtleſs chief hoped "to find a remedy for his ruined fortunes. In evil hour the "Batavians were adviſed to beſiege the legions, and to murder "the commanding officers: the gods, in that moment, de- "nounced their vengeance on the whole nation. The war was "neceſſary for one man, and it has been the ruin of his country. "We are now on the brink of deſtruction: repentance may ex- "piate our guilt, and, by delivering up the author of all cala- "mity, we may atone for paſt miſconduct."

XXVI. CIVILIS knew the temper of his countrymen, and took his meaſures to prevent the blow. A long train of adver- ſity had ſunk the vigour of his mind; and the love of life, a paſſion which often enervates the nobleſt minds, began to exert its influence. He deſired a conference. Cerealis granted it. The bridge over the Wahal *(a)* was broken down in the mid- dle. The two chiefs advanced to the extreme points. In that ſituation Civilis ſpoke as follows: "Were I to plead my cauſe "before an officer in the intereſt of Vitellius, I ſhould give "myſelf up as loſt. Pardon I ſhould not expect, nor would "any credit be given to what I have to offer. Vitellius and I "were mortal foes. We acted with open, with avowed hoſti- "lity. The quarrel was begun by him; it was inflamed by "me. With Veſpaſian I lived on other terms; my reſpect "for his perſon has long been known. While he was yet a "private man, he ranked me in the number of his friends. "Antonius Primus knew our connection. By letters from that "officer *(b)* I was urged to kindle the flame of war. I was "deſired to find employment for the German legions and the "ſtates of Gaul, that none might paſs over the Alps into Italy.

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" The advice of Antonius, communicated by his letters, was " ſeconded by Hordeonius Flaccus in perſon. I complied with " their wiſhes: I appeared in arms, and did in Germany what " was accompliſhed by Mucianus in Syria, by Aponius in Mæſia, " and by Flavianus in Pannonia *(c)*." * * * * * * *

THE REST OF THIS BOOK IS LOST.

APPENDIX

TO THE

FIFTH BOOK.

APPENDIX.

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I. IN the interview with the Roman general, Civilis endeavoured, by an artful apology, to diſguiſe and palliate his own conduct. He had pretended in the beginning of the war that he took the field in the ſervice of Veſpaſian; and his efforts, he now contended, were no way inferior to the Roman officers, who, in different parts of the world, exerted themſelves with zeal and ardour in the ſame cauſe. He claimed the merit of having found employment in Germany for the legions devoted to the intereſt of Vitellius; he had carried his victorious arms to their very camp, and there obliged them to capitulate. An irruption into Italy was prevented by the vigour of his operations, and the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian was enforced by his orders. He complained that thoſe important ſervices were by his enemies invidiouſly called acts of rebellion. But thus accuſed, and thus calumniated, could it be expected that, in ſuch a juncture, he ſhould ſheath the ſword, and, by an ignominious ſurrender, take upon him a load of guilt? Puſillanimity and mean compliance would have been treachery to himſelf. He muſt have incurred the contempt of the legions; but he choſe by warlike enterpriſe, and by his valour in the field, to gain their applauſe. In the diſtraction of the times many things happened on both ſides, raſh, impetuous, and perhaps not to be juſtified. But where all were blameable, to ſettle the meaſure of particular guilt

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guilt ſeemed, in his opinion, to be a fruitleſs enquiry. He added, that the Batavians had been at all times the faithful allies of Rome: while they were conſidered in that light, and not treated as a vanquiſhed people, they were willing to maintain their old attachment with unſhaken conſtancy. Their arms, their men, their valour were ready in the ſervice of the empire. Theſe, he ſaid, were the ſentiments of his countrymen; they were his principles, and the rule of his conduct. Having been the adviſer of the oath to Veſpaſian, he was now the mediator of a general peace.

II. CEREALIS heard the Batavian chief with calm attention. He went to the meeting with a pacific diſpoſition; and, having nothing ſo much at heart as a compromiſe of all differences, he did not amuſe himſelf with a petty controverſy about inferior matters, at that time of no weight or conſequence. He ſcorned to take notice of the fallacy with which Civilis attempted to colour his own ſeditious violence; and, in order effectually to reſtore the public tranquillity, he declared himſelf willing to bury all paſt tranſactions in total oblivion. Peace was eſtabliſhed, and that part of the empire remained free from war and civil commotions.

Civilis, from that time, loſt all weight and influence with his countrymen. They conſidered him as the fierce incendiary, who had kindled up the flame of diſcord, and the author of a wide-waſting war, in which both nations ſaw the deſtruction of camps, the deſolation of cities, and the ſlaughter of armies. Cerealis was ſoon after ſent to command in Britain. He ſucceeded Vettius Bolanus, and, by his warlike ſpirit, revived the luſtre of the Roman name, which had been impaired by the inactive genius of his predeceſſor.

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Peace being finally concluded with the Batavians, the Lingones and other ſtates of Gaul laid down their arms. The people ſaw that they were victims to the pride and wild ambition of their chiefs, and all were willing to end a bloody and deſtructive conteſt, in which deſolation was the only conſequence of victory. Tranquillity was reſtored in that part of the empire, but the troubles in Mæſia were not ſo eaſily quelled. That country continued to be the theatre of war. The Sarmatians had made an irruption, with the ferocity uſual among Barbarians; and having two paſſions to gratify, their love of plunder, and their ſavage delight in blood, they marked their way with carnage and deſtruction. A detail of their operations cannot now be given. Hiſtory has tranſmitted no memorial of thoſe tranſactions. All we know is, that Fonteius Agrippa, the proconſul of Mæſia, was defeated in a pitched battle, and fell with honour amidſt heaps of ſlain *(a)*. Soon after that diſaſter, Rubrius Gallus was ſent by Veſpaſian to undertake the conduct of the war. That officer reſtored military diſcipline, and revived the ſpirit of the legions. He fought the Barbarians in their faſtneſſes, and defeated them in every encounter; hanging always upon their rear, till, at length, he chaſed them out of the province, and obliged them to repaſs the Danube. His next care was to ſecure the country from future incurſions. For that purpoſe he built a chain of forts on the frontier, and, leaving a ſtrong garriſon at every poſt, gave an effectual check to the inroads of thoſe fierce invaders.

III. Rome had now no war upon her hands, except that in Judæa, under the conduct of Titus. The victories obtained by Veſpaſian, and the rapid ſucceſs with which he over-ran the whole province of Galilee, have been already ſtated *(a)*. That

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commander knew the early genius of his ſon; and having decided proofs of his valour and military talents, he thought proper, when his own affairs called him into Ægypt, to leave Titus to reap the glory of ending the war by the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. Tacitus has deſcribed Titus at the head of a numerous army, inſpiring the ſoldiers with zeal and ardour by his own example, and winning all hearts by his amiable manners *(b)*. We have ſeen him encamped before the walls of Jeruſalem, throwing up towers, and preparing for the operations of a regular ſiege; and there, unfortunately, Tacitus leaves us. The reſt of the great hiſtorian's work has periſhed. The loſs can never be repaired; but an event ſo truly intereſting, ought not to be paſſed by in ſilence. The Jewiſh war, abſtractedly from its connexion with religion, preſents a ſeries of calamities, and a ſcene of blood and carnage, that cannot be equalled in the records of any other nation. We have before us an infatuated race ripe for deſtruction, and by their own folly provoking the vengeance of a great and warlike nation, while internal diviſions, civil diſcord, party rage and madneſs, conſpire with a foreign force to accelerate the deſtruction of their whole nation: we ſee a city ſo ſtrong by nature and art, that it was deemed almoſt impregnable, burnt to the ground, and near eleven hundred thouſand inhabitants periſhing in the flames; a temple, in its form and ſtructure the wonder of the world, razed to its foundation; a people driven from their native land, diſperſed all over the globe to exiſt in wandering tribes, but to find no place where they could again become a people under their own plan of polity. Theſe are important events; and they become more ſtriking, when it is conſidered that they were foretold by Chriſt himſelf forty years before the dreadful cataſtrophe, in which the immediate finger and wrath of God were manifeſtly diſplayed.

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IV. The natural cauſes which led to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, have been in ſome degree explained already, but may with propriety be retouched in this place, when we are entering on a ſiege that terminated in the ruin of a devoted people. The mad ambition of Caligula to have his ſtatue placed in the Temple, was the firſt occurrence that rouſed the indignation of the Jews, and kindled the flame of diſcord throughout the nation. The death of Caligula prevented an immediate war, but did not appeaſe the jealouſy of a diſcontented people, who were not only determined that the images of deified emperors ſhould never diſgrace their temple, but would not ſo much as ſuffer the likeneſs of the Cæſars to be brought into their territories. Of this zeal Joſephus relates a remarkable inſtance. He tells us, that when Vitellius, the governor of Syria, was preparing to march his army through a part of Judæa, in order to attack the Arabs, the chief of the Jews objected to the meaſure, alleging that the colours of the legions were crowded with profane images, which the laws did not allow to be ſeen in their country. The Roman general yielded to the remonſtrance, and ordered his legions to purſue a more circuitous way. And yet this condeſcenſion did not ſatisfy the Jewiſh mind. The ſeed-plots of a revolt were laid; and Felix, the brother of Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius, by oppreſſion, rapine, and every ſpecies of cruelty, helped to ſpread a general ſpirit of revolt. Geſſius Florus, who by his intereſt with Poppæa obtained from Nero the poſt of governor of Judæa, found the province in a ſtate of tumult and diſtraction. His conduct added fuel to the flame. Avarice was his ruling paſſion. Reſolved to aggrandize himſelf, and accumulate immoderate riches, he practiſed every ſpecies of iniquity, till the people, fired with indignation, broke out into open rebellion. Ceſtius Gallus, the governor of Syria, aſſembled a numerous

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merous army, and penetrated into the heart of the enemy's country, even to the walls of Jeruſalem: but war was not his talent: he abandoned the ſiege, and fled with precipitation. The Jews hung on his rear, and defeated him in every ſkirmiſh. According to Joſephus, they took an eagle from one of the legions, and in the purſuit cut off no leſs than ſix thouſand of the Roman army. Ceſtius did not long ſurvive the diſgrace. He died of grief; and the government of Syria was given to Mucianus, who afterwards took an active part in the elevation of Veſpaſian to the imperial dignity. But the Jewiſh war required a commander who ſhould make that buſineſs the only object of his attention. Nero, for the reaſons which have been already mentioned, gave that commiſſion to the man who was even then deſtined to be emperor of Rome *(a)*. In the ſpace of two ſummers, the victorious general ſubdued the whole country, and made himſelf maſter of every ſtrong hold and fortified city, except Jeruſalem, which was reſerved to crown Titus with immortal glory.

V. TACITUS has deſcribed the city of Jeruſalem and the Temple; but perhaps, with the advantage of D'Anville's plan, a more diſtinct idea of the place may now be given. The city ſtood upon two hills, namely, Mount Sion to the ſouth, and Acra to the north. The former, being the loftieſt, was called the upper, and Acra the lower city. The walls of each were waſhed on the outſide by a broad and rapid ſtream, that ruſhed like a torrent from weſt to eaſt, through the valleys of Hinnon and Cedron, to the foot of the Mount of Olives. The famous Temple ſtood on a third hill called Mount Moriah, which on the eaſtern ſide was bounded by the valley of Cedron. A fourth hill, to the north of the Temple, was, in proceſs of time, encloſed within

within the fortifications; and there the Jews, abounding in numbers, built another city. The new quarter was called Bezetha. Joſephus ſays the circumference of the whole city was three-and-thirty ſtadia, computed by D'Anville at about three thouſand three hundred paces. Art conſpired with the natural ſituation to make the works almoſt inacceſſible. A wall of great ſtrength and prodigious elevation ſurrounded Sion, extending along the north and weſt ſides of the hill, and, being carried eaſtward, ſeparated it from Mount Aera. Mount Aera was encloſed by another wall which ſtretched to the north, and then diverging towards the eaſt, ended at Fort Antonia. The third wall defended the Temple to the eaſt. Theſe fortifications were further ſtrengthened by towers built with conſummate ſkill, as may be ſeen in the deſcription given by Tacitus *(a)*. Five of the towers were diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength and magnificence. The firſt was the tower Pſephina, an octagon building ſeventy cubits high, commanding a proſpect of Arabia towards the eaſt, and, on the weſtern ſide, a view of Paleſtine and Phœnicia to the margin of the ſea: the other four were built by Herod, who was placed on the throne by Mare Antony. From motives of gratitude to his patron, Herod called one of his new ſtructures the Tower Antonia. The other three he dedicated to the perſons whom he moſt eſteemed, and, to do them honour, made uſe of their names: Hippichos was his deareſt friend; Phaſael was his brother; and Mariamne, it is unneceſſary to ſay, was the wife whom he loved to diſtraction, and in his fury murdered, while he adored her *(b)*.

The Temple of Jeruſalem was an immenſe fabric, divided by a number of courts, and ſurrounded with porticos and magnificent galleries, which were, in fact, ſo many fortifications, that made

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made it look, as Tacitus obſerves *(c)*, more like a citadel than a religious ſanctuary. The place of worſhip, or the Temple properly ſo called, ſtood in the centre, detached from all other buildings: the inſide was divided by a veil or curtain into two parts, one of which was the Holy of Holies. The outward ſpace was filled with buildings appropriated to religious ceremonies, and the dwelling of the prieſts and others, who officiated at the altar. A large court, encompaſſing thoſe ſeveral buildings, was called the Court of the Gentiles, who were allowed to enter that part, but ſtrictly excluded from the ſanctuary. The whole of this vaſt quadrangle, according to Joſephus, was ſix ſtadia, or three quarters of a mile round: as D'Anville computes it, the circumference was ſtill greater.

VI. THIS great and opulent, but devoted city, was now the laſt receptacle of the Jewiſh nation. The people ſaw the progreſs of the Roman arms; all Galilee over-run by the conqueror, their fortreſſes ſtormed, and their armies routed in every engagement. In that alarming criſis, all degrees and orders of men abandoned their habitations, and fled for ſhelter to Jeruſalem. The celebration of the Paſſover, which was then near at hand, attracted prodigious multitudes to pay their worſhip. It is, notwithſtanding, probable that Joſephus exaggerates, when he tells us that the beſieged in the city amounted to three millions; Tacitus ſays, ſix hundred thouſand. If from the laſt number we deduct women and children, with the aged and infirm, there will ſtill remain a vaſt warlike force to man the works, and repel the approaches of the enemy. What added to the difficulties which Titus had to encounter, was the deſperate reſolution of men during the whole war enured to carnage, and to the natural obſtinacy of the Jewiſh temper uniting the madneſs of enthuſiaſm.

ſiaſin. They were taught by their falſe prophets, that the Lord of Hoſts would fight their battles, and deliver them from a foreign yoke. The predictions that relate to the coming of the Meſſiah, were not underſtood as promiſing a Redeemer to free the world from the bondage of ſin, and ſend forth the light of truth from Judæa: as Tacitus obſerves, they expected an heroic conqueror, who ſhould march at the head of their armies, and extend the dominion of the eaſt over all foreign nations. But the Jewiſh mind was not to be enlightened. The Divine vengeance had been declared with awful denunciations; they had been told that *their enemies ſhould caſt a trench around them, and not leave one ſtone upon another.* The celebrated Boſſuet, in his diſcourſe on Univerſal Hiſtory, confirms the account of portents and prodigies, as related by Tacitus *(a)*. "And what (ſays "he) could be ſo alarming a ſignal of the impending wrath of "Heaven, as the hollow murmur heard by the prieſts in the ſanc-"tuary, and the voice that iſſued from the Holy of Holies, "*Let us leave this place!* It was manifeſt that the Temple "was abandoned by God and his Angels." The ſame excellent author relates another phænomenon, which either was a miracle, or might have been conſidered by the people as an awful warning. Four years before the war with the Romans, a common peaſant began, on a ſudden impulſe, to cry out; "A voice from "the eaſt! A voice from the weſt! A voice from the four "quarters of the world! A voice againſt Jeruſalem! againſt "the Temple, and all new-married brides and bridegrooms! A "voice againſt the whole body of the people!" From that time he never ceaſed day and night to repeat, "Woe to the people! "Woe to Jeruſalem!" No other words came from his lips. In the Temple, at all religious ceremonies, he uttered the ſame dreadful menace. He was ſeized, and dragged before the magiſtrate: to

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every interrogatory his anſwer was, "Woe to Jeruſalem!" He was ordered to be whipt, and then turned adrift as a wild enthuſiaſt. He rambled about the country, viſiting every city, and in his fits of tranſport uttering the ſame terrible prediction, ſtraining his voice to the utmoſt pitch, yet not enfeebling it. When the war broke out, he went on with the ſame enthuſiaſm, proclaiming vengeance, and, with crowds of his countrymen, returned to Jeruſalem. The ſiege being formed, he fixed his eyes on the walls, exclaiming with vehemence, "Woe to the city! "Woe to the temple! Woe to the people!" He added at laſt, "Woe to myſelf!" and, in that moment, a ſtone from a battering engine ſtruck him dead on the ſpot. The name of this man, ſays Boſſuet, was Jeſus; and it may be, that ſince the firſt who offered grace and mercy, and eternal life, expired on the croſs, the ſecond of the name was ordained to denounce the ruin of the whole nation.

VII. THOUGH the Jews by their raſhneſs involved themſelves in a war with a great and powerful empire, it may be truly ſaid that Jeruſalem was deſtroyed by their own hands, not by the Roman arms. They had called down the vengeance of Heaven by the worſt iniquities, and, to complete their utter deſtruction, were ſtill abandoned to the vices that provoked their fate. Falſe prophets, as had been foretold, impoſed on the deluded people. Hereſies ſprung up and multiplied; new doctrines were propagated; and by conſequence various ſects were formed; all, as uſual among ſchiſmatics, envenomed againſt each other. Religious diſſenſions engendered civil diſcord; and Judæa, rent and torn by contending factions, became a theatre of horror, rapine, and mutual ſlaughter. By the conteſt between Veſpaſian and Vitellius, which began in the year of Rome 822, the Jews gained ſome reſpite from the operations of a victorious enemy; but they had not

the wiſdom to employ the interval in preparations for another campaign. Three powerful factions divided the whole nation; and, as uſual, when the infatuated multitude claim a right to exerciſe what is called the ſovereignty of the people, each faction was under the management of a leader or a chief, who was admired for his eloquence and ſuperior talents. But eloquence without integrity is a frivolous talent: it has been properly called lip-wiſdom. The three demagogues knew the popular arts by which the rabble is generally influenced. The public good was their pretext, but their own private ambition was the exciting motive, the cauſe of all their actions. They talked of the independent ſpirit of their nation, and the glory of reſiſting the Roman legions; but while they railed at ſlavery, their own domination was the object in view.

Of theſe three tyrants Eleazar was the firſt in point of time. When Ceſtius, as already mentioned, encamped before the walls of Jeruſalem, he had put himſelf at the head of a ſtrong party, who aſſumed the name of Zealots, and made himſelf maſter of the Temple. John of Giſcala ſaw the ſtrength of that faction, and had the addreſs to inſinuate himſelf into their clubs or political meetings. He had a wonderful flow of words, and was ſoon admired as a conſummate orator. An artful concealer of his ſiniſter purpoſes, he knew how to gloſs and decorate his ſpeeches with well-acted zeal for the public good. He drew over to his party a number of the moſt active Zealots, and formed a league that ſoon grew formidable to Eleazar. Strong as his confederacy was, he was not able to make himſelf maſter of the Temple; but the city, as if taken by conqueſt, fell under his abſolute dominion. Enured, before he entered Jeruſalem, to the moſt barbarous cruelties, and the moſt violent acts of depredation, he continued

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in the city to practiſe the ſame horrible outrages, till the people reſolved to call in another tyrant to their aſſiſtance. This was Simon, ſon of Gioras, who had raiſed himſelf from obſcurity by his intrepid courage and the moſt flagitious crimes. By promiſing rewards to the free, and freedom to the ſlaves, he was able to form an army of twenty thouſand men. With that force he advanced to the walls of Jeruſalem. The citizens, haraſſed and worn out by the oppreſſions of John, opened their gates to receive him. Simon entered amidſt the acclamations of the rabble. He promiſed to be the friend of the people. Various conflicts enſued between him and the Zealots. Fierce and obſtinate battles were fought; houſes were plundered; whole families were put to the ſword; and Jeruſalem was a ſcene of blood and maſſacre. The parties gained alternate victories, but no deciſive blow was ſtruck. Eleazar remained in poſſeſſion of the higheſt part of the Temple; John maintained his poſt on Mount Moriah; and Simon commanded in Salem and Bezetha. The Chriſtians, who reſided in the city of Jeruſalem, finding that Titus was approaching at the head of his army, knew their time to depart. They ſaw, according to the warning given to them by Chriſt himſelf, that deſolation was nigh, and, as commanded, fled to the mountains *(a)*.

VIII. Such was the internal ſtate of Jeruſalem when Titus, early in the ſpring, encamped before the walls. The natural clemency of that amiable prince inclined him to offer terms of capitulation, but he too well knew the obſtinacy of a blind and devoted race. An account of the legions and allied forces that went on this expedition has been ſtated by Tacitus *(a)*. The firſt care of Titus was to form his lines; to level the grounds, and throw up forts and battlements before the walls of the city.

The

The legions went to work with alacrity, all contending with emulation to execute the orders of their general. In the midſt of theſe exertions, a ſudden burſt of lamentation aſſailed their ears. They looked, and ſaw advancing, from one of the gates, a wretched band of mourners, ſtretching forth their hands, and, with hideous cries and diſmal ſhrieks, imploring the protection of the Romans from the barbarous cruelty of their fellow-citizens. The ſoldiers were touched with compaſſion. Without waiting for the command of their officers, they went in a body to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, and conduct them to their tents. In that moment was ſeen the treachery of the Jewiſh character. The notes of grief were changed to warlike ſhouts. The traitors ſurrounded the generous ſoldiers, and, brandiſhing their daggers, ruſhed to the attack with the fury of the vileſt aſſaſſins. The Romans were maſſacred on the ſpot, while a band of Jews on the walls beheld the tragic ſpectacle with fell delight, and, adding taunts and inſult to their perfidy, made a jeſt of the unhappy victims, who were butchered for their humanity.

IX. This ſtratagem had the effect of kindling a ſpirit of revenge throughout the Roman army. Titus in the mean time preſerved the even tenour of his happy diſpoſition. To yield to ſudden emotions of anger was not in his nature. He weighed all circumſtances, and ſtill wiſhed to ſpare the effuſion of blood. He ſaw a deluded people who, by open rebellion, had provoked the Roman arms, and, though pent up within their walls, ſtill believed their falſe prophets, expecting to be maſters of univerſal empire; he knew that they were diſtracted by inteſtine factions; that, under the direction of their chiefs, the aſſaſſin's dagger was every day drenched in blood, and maſſacre laid waſte the city. Titus beheld their misfortunes with an eye of pity:

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willing to ſheathe the ſlaughtering ſword, he offered a general pardon; but in vain; the whole nation was infatuated and ripe for deſtruction.

The Roman ſoldiers, eager to begin the attack, carried on their works with unabating vigour. Mounds were thrown up; forts were built; and battering rams and other warlike engines were advanced to the walls. The firſt impreſſion was made on Salem, or the lower city, on the north-weſt ſide of Jeruſalem. Simon commanded in that quarter: his ſword, which had been till then employed againſt his fellow-citizens, was at length turned againſt the beſiegers. He exerted his moſt ſtrenuous efforts, and by his example inſpired his men with undaunted reſolution. But the vigour of the legions was irreſiſtible. Darts, and fire-brands, and other miſſive weapons, were thrown into the town with inceſſant fury; ſtones of enormous weight were diſcharged from a number of engines; and the beſieged were driven from the ramparts. In the heat of the engagement Titus received a wound in his ſhoulder, of which he felt the ſymptoms during the reſt of his life; but danger ſerved only to animate his warlike ſpirit. The ſoldiers followed the example of their general. The battering rams opened a breach in the walls; the conquering troops ruſhed in ſword in hand, and took poſſeſſion of Salem. This was on the fifteenth day of the ſiege. It was ſoon perceived that by their ſucceſs they had gained a perilous ſituation. They were expoſed to the engines of the enemy from Bezetha, and the Tower of Antonia on the north, from the Temple on the eaſt, and from Sion on the ſouth. But to confront every danger was the maxim and the practice of the legions. They maintained the conflict five days ſucceſſively, and ſurmounted every difficulty. Titus entered Bezetha at the head of two thouſand men.

X. THE

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X. THE Jews fled in conſternation; and if the Romans had been allowed to purſue their advantage, that day might have ended the ſiege. But Titus pauſed in the moment of victory. Clemency reſumed her influence. He ordered his men to give quarter to all that laid down their arms. The runaways took ſhelter in the Tower Antonia. It might have been expected that the humanity of Titus would have ſoftened the rigour of the Jewiſh mind. It had a contrary effect. The infatuated people could not ſuppoſe that virtue was his motive. His conduct was imputed to deſpair and cowardice. John and Simon agreed, for the firſt time, to carry on their operations with a ſpirit of union. They collected their numbers, and poured down to the attack with impetuous fury. Titus ſaw the danger of being ſurrounded by ſuperior numbers, and, with that preſence of mind which never deſerted him, reſolved at once not to hazard the lives of his men for the vain glory of their general. He had gained a victory; but prudence required that he ſhould, for the preſent, reſign all his advantages. He ſounded a retreat, and returned to his camp.

XI. THE preparations neceſſary for a ſecond aſſault employed the legions during the four following days. The interval was dreadful to the Jews. Internal diſſenſions broke out with redoubled fury. Simon conſidered the retreat of the Romans as a complete victory, and made no doubt but that in a ſhort time they would raiſe the ſiege. Elate with ſucceſs, he thought it time to think of aggrandizing himſelf. A man of his diſpoſition knew no way to eſtabliſh his ill-gotten power, but by wading through ſcenes of blood. His partiſans committed depredations at their will and pleaſure, and his aſſaſſins drenched their daggers in the blood of all who dared

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dared to lament the miſeries of their country. Simon had been raiſed to his bad eminence by Mathias, a prieſt, who preſided at all public ſacrifices; and he now conſidered the man, to whom he owed an obligation, as a living reproach. He accuſed his friend of a deſign to deſert to the Romans, and, on that charge, condemned him to death together with his three ſons. The venerable old man begged with earneſt ſupplication to be the firſt victim, that he might not live to ſee ſo horrible a ſpectacle as the murder of his children. The prayer of miſery was rejected. The wretched father ſaw his ſons bleed, and, having felt that agony of heart, reſigned himſelf to the executioner.

John, in the mean time, did not think himſelf eſtabliſhed in plenitude of power, while Eleazar ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the inner part of the Temple. His ambition could not brook a rival. Eleazar, on the other hand, had no reſources to ſupport himſelf, and his party, but the offerings and firſt-fruits that were brought to the ſanctuary. Thoſe, in contempt of all laws divine and human, he converted to his own uſe; and, with that view, allowed admittance to all who came to offer their adoration. During the horrors of the ſiege, ſacrifices, libations, and other acts of devotion went on in the Temple; but in the midſt of the religious ceremonies, the holy place was deluged with human blood mixed with the gore of ſlaughtered victims. John was, at length, determined to end the conteſt with Eleazar. Ambition like his was not to be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the abſolute command. Having taken his meaſures for that purpoſe, he ordered his band of aſſaſſins to mix with the crowd that entered the inner Temple. A dreadful ſcene of confuſion, horror, and murder

der followed. The ruffians, ſkilled in their trade, threw off their upper garments, and, brandiſhing their poniards, ſtruck a general panic. The Zealots of Eleazar's party ruſhed out of the Temple with precipitation. The innocent multitude clung to the altar; but the altar was no longer a ſanctuary. All were put to death without diſtinction. By this horrible ſtratagem John obtained a complete victory. Eleazar, according to Tacitus *(a)*, fell in the general maſſacre; but, if we believe Joſephus, he ſurvived to act for the future under the command of John, who became the ruling chief of the Zealots. The three factions, which prevailed in the beginning of the ſiege, were, in this manner, reduced to two. John and Simon were now the pretended friends of the people, and the ruin of their country.

XII. TITUS knew, by ſure intelligence, that the ceſſation of arms, which his preparations rendered neceſſary, was by the folly and madneſs of the beſieged converted to their own deſtruction. He exerted himſelf, notwithſtanding, to return to the charge without loſs of time. The exertions of the ſoldiers ſeconded his moſt ardent wiſhes. Having conſtructed his warlike engines, and taken his meaſures for the aſſault, he made his approaches to the breach, which he had already battered, and by an inceſſant diſcharge of ſtones and arrows, and other miſſive weapons, had kept open, in ſpite of the efforts of the Jews to repair their fortifications. The legions advanced to the aſſault with determined bravery. The conflict laſted three days without intermiſſion. On the fourth, the archers and ſlingers diſcharged ſuch an uninterrupted volley, that the beſieged could no longer maintain their ſtation on the ramparts. The engineers played their battering rams with the greateſt ſkill and ſucceſs.

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The walls gave way; and the Romans, in close embodied ranks, were able to cut their way through the breach. The Jews fled for shelter to Sion and Mount Moriah. Titus entered with the conquering troops, and once more took possession of Salem. He ordered all the houses to be levelled to the ground, and marked out the lines of his camp. He filled the towers, that were left standing, with a band of select men, who from that advantageous post would know how to annoy the battlements of the enemy. The whole city was now inclosed within the lines of circumvallation, which Titus had ordered in the beginning of the siege. Salem was completely conquered. The legions extended their ranks as far as the foot of Tower Antonia, and thence to the Mount of Olives, on the north-east side of the Temple. But new difficulties were the consequence of victory. A wide extensive valley lay betwen the base of Mount Moriah and Bezetha. The Romans, in that situation, were exposed to the slings and engines of the enemy on the summit of Tower Antonia, the Temple, and Mount Sion. To men, who were directly under those forts, or citadels, the height appeared stupendous, and inaccessible. Till towers of equal elevation were raised, there was no way to assault the works, and to batter a breach was impossible. This occasioned a suspension of hostilities for ten days. The labour was immense, and such as would have deterred any forces but a Roman army. The soldiers loved their general, and their ardour rose in proportion.

XIII. The Jews in consternation saw from their ramparts the towers rising high in air, and the platforms, which were to receive the warlike engines, built with a rapidity that astonished them. They now thought it time to desist from their internal feuds, and the rage of mutual slaughter. The common danger reconciled

reconciled all parties. John and Simon formed an union of councils. They aſſembled their braveſt troops, and, having concerted their plan of operations, made a ſally into the city of Salem with their whole ſtrength combined. The Romans were taken by ſurpriſe. Deſpair itſelf inſpired the Jews with courage. Their firſt impreſſion was not to be reſiſted. The legions gave ground, and were obliged to retreat to their camp. The Jews purſued them to their entrenchments. The Romans were beſieged in their turn. All was uproar, terror, and confuſion, till Titus, by his exhortations, by his own example, and by every effort, rouſed the ſpirit of his men, and led them on to the charge. The Jews were repulſed. They fled; they were purſued; they were taken priſoners, or put to the ſword. The ſlaughter laſted till night came on, and John and Simon, with their ſurviving numbers, retreated to their former ſtation.

XIV. Titus was now at leiſure to raiſe the neceſſary batteries, and conſtruct all his works for a grand aſſault. The beſieged, in the mean time, were afflicted with diſaſters worſe, if poſſible, than their own horrible aſſaſſinations. A dreadful famine laid waſte the city. The ſtreets were covered with the dead and the dying; old men, women and children ſtretched forth their hands for ſuſtenance, and expired in the act; the wounded ſoldiers periſhed for want of relief; ſhrieks and groans, and lamentations reſounded in every quarter; the ſurviving wretches envied the fate of thoſe who died firſt; they lived only to prolong their miſery, fixing their eyes on the Temple, and invoking death to end their woes. The rites of ſepulture were neglected. It was neceſſary, however, to remove the dead bodies. John and Simon ordered them to be thrown down the ſteep into the lower city. Titus went to view the unhappy victims,

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as they lay in heaps under the walls. Shocked at a ſcene ſo melancholy and affecting, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and called the gods to witneſs, that he was not the cauſe of thoſe dreadful calamities.

John and Simon, the tyrannical authors of every miſchief, beheld the diſtreſs of the people without remorſe or pity. Under their direction, plunder and maſſacre went on with unrelenting fury. A band of aſſaſſins continued prowling about in queſt of prey. They ſearched every houſe; and where they ſaw an appearance of health, they ſeized the wretched family, and dragged them like ſo many criminals to the rack, in order to make them diſcover in what ſecret place they laid up their ſlender hoard of victuals. The two friends of the people converted every thing to their own uſe. Diſtreſs and miſery went on increaſing, and deeds that ſhocked humanity were committed in the face of day. Fathers took the nouriſhment from their children, and ſons ſeized it from their mothers. In return, a woman of the name of Mary, who, in the beginning of the war, removed with all her ſubſtance from beyond the Jordan to take ſhelter in Jeruſalem, committed an outrage that cannot be related without horror. A band of ruffians carried off her little ſtore of corn. Enraged by that act of violence, ſhe ſeized her infant, then at her breaſt, and, in deſpair and phrenſy, plunged a poniard in its heart. Nor did ſhe ſtop there: the cravings of hunger were to be appeaſed. She cut her babe in pieces, and devoured the fruit of her womb. The ſmell of victuals ſoon attracted a banditti of free-booters. They broke into the houſe; and, though enured to murder, they recoiled with horror at a ſight ſo barbarous and inhuman. The ſtory was ſoon divulged; it ſpread through the city, and reached the Roman camp. Titus heard it with aſtoniſhment.

niſhment. He heaved a ſigh, and mourned the lot of humanity. His towers, his platforms, and his warlike engines were completed; his ſlingers and archers were at their poſt, and his whole army panted for an opportunity to diſplay their valour; but he himſelf was ſtill reſtrained by the tenderneſs of his nature. He cauſed a general amneſty to be proclaimed in favour of all, who ſhould make a voluntary ſurrender; and, at the ſame time, bound himſelf by a ſolemn promiſe to preſerve the city, the temple, and the religion of the people. Numbers embraced the offer, and ruſhed out of the gates on every ſide; but the vengeance of Heaven purſued a devoted race. The wretched fugitives, in their way to the Roman camp, paſſed through the lines of the Arabs, who had liſted under the banners of Titus. A ſoldier of that nation perceived a Jew diſcharging the ſuperfluities of nature, and then ſearching for the gold which he had ſwallowed before he left the town. That circumſtance diffuſed a notion, that all the Jews had adopted the ſame ſtratagem to ſecrete their money. Full of that idea, the Arabs ruſhed with fury on the defenceleſs multitude, and ripped up their bellies to diſcover their hidden treaſure. The Romans followed the example, and a ſcene of blood and carnage continued, till Titus, fired with indignation, checked the fury of his men, and gave the promiſed protection to all that eſcaped the maſſacre.

XV. Titus found that his lenity, inſtead of making an impreſſion on the Jewiſh mind, was conſidered by that obſtinate people as a proof of weakneſs. He determined, therefore, to make one vigorous effort, and let the enemy ſee the ſtrength and valour of the Roman army. His operations were directed againſt Fort Antonia. John and Simon no ſooner ſaw the platforms and

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wooden towers advancing towards the walls, than they made a ſally with intent to ſet fire to the works of the beſiegers. The Zealots, armed with torches and fire-brands, advanced with eagerneſs. The legions ſhewed a firm undaunted countenance. The ſignal for the attack being given, they charged the enemy in ſuch compact order, that nothing could reſiſt their fury. The conflict did not laſt long. The Jews were thrown into confuſion, and, after a few vain efforts, retreated to their city.

The battering rams were advanced againſt the tower Antonia. The beſieged diſcharged from their ramparts a volley of ſtones and other miſſive weapons. Nothing could deter the Romans. They condenſed their ſhields over their heads, and, having formed a military ſhell, began to ſap the foundation of the walls, while the engineers annoyed the enemy on the upper part of the works. At length the arch of a deep ſubterraneous cavern, which had been conſtructed under the eaſtern ſide of the tower, fell in at once, and drew after it a great part of the wall in one prodigious ruin. The opening was wide enough for the Romans to enter in wide extended lines; but, according to Joſephus, they ſtood aghaſt at the ſight of an inward wall, which had been built by the order of John. The hiſtorian relates a number of circumſtances, that derogate much from our idea of the courage and diſcipline of a Roman army. Be the fact as it may, the tower Antonia was on the following day taken by ſtorm. The Jews, who eſcaped the ſword, fled in diſmay and terror to the Temple, which they conſidered as a ſafe aſylum, ſtill convinced that a ſanctuary, of which the God of Abraham was the protector, would never yield to the Roman arms.

XVI. TITUS had now gained an eminence, from which

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his warlike engines could play with advantage on the enemy. The approaches to the Temple lay expoſed to the valour of the legions. His clemency made him ſuſpend his operations. To ſave the ſanctuary, and even to protect the people in the exerciſe of a religion, which, with every Roman, he condemned as a perverſe ſuperſtition, was ſtill the wiſh of his heart. Joſephus, who, as the reader will remember *(a)*, commanded the garriſon at Jotapata in Galilee, and was there taken priſoner by Veſpaſian, attended Titus during the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Whether he miſunderſtood the prophecies relating to the Meſſiah, or miſinterpreted them to curry favour with the Roman general, cannot now be known. Tacitus condemns the blind ſuperſtition of the Jews, who would not ſee that the prediction had, as he conceived it, a palpable reference to Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus *(b)*. Joſephus either actually did, or pretended to ſee it in the ſame light. Willing to ſtop the effuſion of blood, Titus reſolved to ſend a deputation to the Jewiſh chiefs; and for that purpoſe no one ſeemed ſo proper as a native of the country, who would know the topics fit to be urged, and by his powers of perſuaſion might be able to command the paſſions, and make an impreſſion on the hearts of a deluded people. Joſephus undertook that important embaſſy. He had an interview with John, and has left in his hiſtory a detail of all that paſſed. It will be ſufficient, in this abridgment, to obſerve, that nothing could alter the obſtinacy of a blind enthuſiaſt, who by his manifold crimes provoked the wrath of an offended God, and, at the ſame time, was ſo infatuated as to expect the divine protection. Joſephus, though reviled as a traitor to his country and a ſlave to the Romans, made uſe of every argument to open the eyes of the people; he repreſented to them the horrors of inevitable deſtruction; heaven and earth combined againſt their city; and with tears in his eyes

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eyes he exclaimed, " I ſee at length, too late I ſee, that I am " ſtruggling againſt the will of God. Titus wiſhes to ſave you " from deſolation, and your doom is pronounced above. It is " God, a powerful, an avenging God, who ſends the Romans " to bury all in ruin. Repentance may ſtill efface your crimes; " contrition of heart may avert the impending vengeance; ſave " yourſelves, and your holy city; ſave your Temple, the won- " der of the univerſe; Titus wiſhes to preſerve that noble ſtruc- " ture; do not be worſe enemies to yourſelves, than even the " Romans, who hold the ſword over your heads, and ſtill in " mercy forbear to ſtrike the fatal blow." He could no more; a flood of tears ſuppreſſed his voice; he turned his eyes to the Temple, heaved a ſigh, and returned to Fort Antonia.

XVII. TITUS ſaw that his moderation ſerved only to confirm the hard of heart; and, by protracting the ſiege, to expoſe his men to ambuſcades, and the danger of ſudden ſkirmiſhes with a people enured to craft and ſtratagem. He called a council of war. The principal officers were of opinion, that nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of the Temple would ſecure a laſting peace. A building, which the Jews themſelves had made a theatre of blood, ought not, they contended, to be any longer conſidered as a place of worſhip. It was rather a citadel, in which the garriſon remained in force; and, ſince the proffered capitulation was rejected, ought to be given up to the fury of an enraged ſoldiery. Titus concurred with his officers in every point, except the demolition of the inner part of the Temple. That he ſtill reſolved to ſave; but, as Joſephus obſerves, a ſuperior council had otherwiſe ordained. God in his juſtice had decreed the fall of Jeruſalem; and Titus, unconſcious of his miſſion, was the agent to execute the will of Heaven.

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On the following day the general aſſault began. The Romans advanced under their military ſhell to the outward wall of the Temple. The Jews ſallied out, and a fierce engagement followed. Nothing, however, could break through the cloſe embodied lines of the legions. The beſieged gave way, and, finding themſelves purſued with impetuous fury, fled for ſhelter to the inner court. The Romans entered ſword in hand. The battle was renewed with redoubled ardour. The combatants were confined to one ſpot. For the Jews, no room for flight; the Romans fought to end the war. The cries of the dying, and the ſhouts of the victors, reverberated by the ſurrounding walls, filled the place with dreadful uproar. The orders of Titus and his officers were no longer heard. The Jews, in ſome parts, fought with frantic obſtinacy. Numbers in deſpair fled to the ſanctuary. There the falſe prophets ſtill aſſured them that the Lord of Hoſts was on their ſide. In that inſtant the beſiegers forced the gates. The maſſy gold and glittering ornaments inſpired them with new ardour. The love of plunder conſpired with revenge, and Titus exerted himſelf in vain to reſtrain their fury. One of the ſoldiers mounted to the top of the portico, and threw a combuſtible weapon, which clung to the wood-work, and ſet fire to the whole building. The Jews ſaw that all was loſt, and in their laſt agony ſent forth the groan of an expiring people. Titus withdrew from the ſcene of deſolation, lamenting that his efforts to ſave the place were without effect. As he paſſed along, word was brought to him, that a number of prieſts ſtood on the outſide wall, imploring him to ſpare their lives. "It is too late," ſaid Titus; "the prieſts ought not to ſurvive their Temple." He retired to Fort Antonia; and there beholding the conflagration, and lifting up his hands, exclaimed, with a ſigh, "The God of the Jews has fought againſt them: to him we owe our victory."

Such

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Such was the end of the Temple of Jeruſalem; a magnificent ſtructure, which had ſtood for ages, the pride and glory of the Jews, the place of national worſhip, and the oracle of God. It is remarkable, that this dreadful cataſtrophe happened on the tenth of Auguſt, the day on which the firſt Temple, built by Solomon, was burnt to the ground, in the year of the world 3416, before Chriſt 587, by Nebuchadnezor, King of Babylon. The ſecond and laſt Temple was built about fifty-two years after that of Solomon was laid in ruins. It had ſtood above ſix hundred years, enlarged and embelliſhed from time to time; but was at length levelled to the ground, to riſe no more, notwithſtanding the attempt of Julian the Apoſtate to rebuild the Temple, and thereby diſcredit the prediction of Chriſt. His mad project failed. So true it is, that *no power can deſtroy what God has raiſed; and none can raiſe what he deſtroys.* The ſentence was pronounced above, and not *one ſtone was left upon another (a).*

XVIII. An end was not yet put to the war. John and Simon, with a number of their followers, found their way into the upper city on Mount Sion. But the courage of the Jews depended on the preſervation of their Temple. Seeing it in flames, they thought themſelves abandoned by their God, and wanted to ſurrender. Even in that diſtreſs they were ſtill diſtracted by inteſtine factions. John and Simon declared their fixed reſolution to hold out to the laſt. The ſcene of miſery that followed is not to be deſcribed; a devouring famine raged in every quarter, and the barbarity of the unrelenting tyrants was not to be appeaſed. In a few days the chiefs ſaw the Romans, with indefatigable labour, advancing their towers, and preparing for a general aſſault. They thought it time to capitulate. Titus promiſed to ſpare their lives, but refuſed to compromiſe the war on any other terms. He required, in decided terms, an immediate, unequivocal, unconditional

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ditional ſubmiſſion; a ſurrender at diſcretion. John and Simon received this anſwer with indignation. The pride of men, who had been ſo long the tyrants of the people, was too obſtinate to bend to the will of a conqueror. They talked of the rights of man, reſolved to live independent, or to die with honour in the cauſe of liberty. They harangued the populace, and bellowed againſt Titus with the zeal and vehemence of determined patriots; but, in a ſhort time after, they deſerted the public in the hour of need, and thought of nothing but their own perſonal ſafety. The towers of Hippicos, Phaſael, and Mariamne were almoſt impregnable. In places of that ſtrength they might have ſtood at bay for a length of time, and, perhaps have extorted from Titus an honourable capitulation: they might, at leaſt, have ſhared the fate of a people, whom they had ruined. But their words and actions were at variance. They abandoned the public intereſt, and baſely hid themſelves in ſubterraneous vaults, in hopes of eluding the fury of the conqueror. The legions battered a breach, and entered the city ſword in hand. A dreadful carnage followed. Neither ſex nor age was ſpared. According to Joſephus, not leſs than eleven hundred thouſand periſhed during the ſiege. The buildings were ſet on fire, and, excepting the three towers, the whole city of Sion was laid in ruins. As ſoon as the rage of ſlaughter ceaſed, all that eſcaped the general carnage were collected together, and diſpoſed of according to their deſerts. The moſt active incendiaries were put to death; ſome were reſerved to grace the victor's triumph; and the reſt were ſent into Egypt, and ſold to ſlavery.

In this manner, the city of Jeruſalem, which had flouriſhed for ages, was made a wilderneſs. The Jews, no longer able to ſubſiſt as a people, have been, for upwards of ſeventeen hundred

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years, ſcattered over the face of the earth, a living monument of divine vengeance.

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XIX. While the ſiege was ſtill depending, Veſpaſian ſailed from Alexandria, and, after a ſhort voyage, landed at Brunduſium. He proceeded by ſlow journeys, without pomp or vain parade, making his approaches to Rome with the air of an humble citizen returning to his family. A prodigious concourſe of people of all deſcriptions came forward to meet him, and the tribe of courtiers buzzed and glittered round him, as uſual, offering the incenſe of adulation. They were received with cold neglect. It was ſoon perceived, that in the new reign truth would be in faſhion *(a)*. One of the cities, through which he paſſed, declared an intention to raiſe a ſtatue to him at a vaſt expence. Veſpaſian held forth his hand, and anſwered with a ſmile, "Let this be the baſe of your ſtatue; place your money here." He entered the city of Rome amidſt the acclamations of a people, who had long been haraſſed by the cruelty of Nero, and expected under a mild and equitable government a reſpite from their miſery.

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XX. Vespasian entered on his third conſulſhip in conjunction with Cocceius Nerva, who was afterwards emperor of Rome; two men, who ſeem to have been, for the nobleſt purpoſes, united in office; Veſpaſian, to inſtruct his colleague in the arts of government; and Nerva, to prepare himſelf for a juſt, an upright, and a virtuous reign. Titus, in the mean time, remained at Mount Sion, ſurveying with regret the deſolation which the legions had made. Addreſſes of congratulation and crowns of victory were preſented to him by deputies from all the neighbouring ſtates: he calmly anſwered, that he

he was the inſtrument to execute the decrees of Heaven. He gave orders that the three towers on Mount Sion ſhould be left ſtanding, as a monument for poſterity, to mark where the city ſtood, which was laid in ruins by the folly and madneſs of the inhabitants. Having made all proper arrangements, and left Terentius Rufus, with a legion under his command, to guard Mount Sion and the province of Judæa, he ſet out, after the example of his father, to make the tour of Egypt.

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John and Simon, as has been mentioned, ſurvived the ſlaughter of their countrymen; but it was not long before they fell into the hands of the conqueror. John was the firſt that ſurrendered. He met with more clemency than was due to a man, whoſe wild ambition had been the cauſe of ſo many dreadful diſaſters. He was condemned to remain a priſoner for life.

Simon did not meet with equal lenity. His perverſe and obſtinate reſiſtance ſerved to aggravate his former iniquities, and to fill the meaſure of his guilt. He had taken refuge in a deep cavern, carrying with him a ſtore of proviſions, and a number of workmen with their tools and inſtruments, with intent to open a paſſage under ground, and, after collecting together the ſurviving forces of his countrymen, to appear again in arms againſt the Romans. But rocks were impenetrable; proviſions were exhauſted; he began to dread the miſery of an approaching famine, and reſolved once more to ſee the light of heaven. Rufus ordered him to be loaded with irons, and in that condition conveyed to Rome, to clank his chains at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror.

Meanwhile Titus was received at Memphis with all demon-

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ſtrations of joy. It happened, while he remained at that place, that the conſecration of an ox, adored under the name of Apis, by the Egyptians, as their national God, was to be celebrated with all the rites of ſuperſtition uſual on that occaſion. Titus was invited to preſide at the feſtival. He yielded to the requeſt of the people, and, in conformity to eſtabliſhed uſage, wore a regal diadem during the ceremony. Innocent as this tranſaction was, it did not fail, in a buſy city like Rome, to occaſion a variety of reports, all founded on vague conjecture and ſiniſter conſtruction. The wiſdom of ſome, and the malignity of others, ſaw a deep deſign. Titus, they ſaid, was fluſhed with the pride of victory; he began to tower above his rank, and to form ſchemes of ambition. It was not the vanity of a day, that made him aſſume the regal diadem; it was evident that he aimed at greater things. Theſe reports were wafted with ſpeed acroſs the Mediterranean. Titus heard, with indignation, that his character was blackened, and reſolved to make the beſt of his way to Rome. He arrived at Rhegium over againſt Sicily, and, embarking there in a trading veſſel, ſailed to Puteoli: from that place he purſued his journey with all poſſible expedition, and, without the ceremony of announcing his arrival, flew to Veſpaſian's apartment, and, throwing his arms around his neck, exclaimed, "I am come, my father; your ſon is come."

The ſenate had decreed a triumph for the emperor, and another for Titus. Veſpaſian choſe to wait, till he had a partner to enjoy the glory of the day. They both entered Rome in the ſame triumphal car. The pomp and magnificence diſplayed on the occaſion exceeded all former ſplendour. The ſpoils of war, the wealth of conquered nations, the wonders of art, and the riches of Egypt as well as Jeruſalem, preſented a ſpectacle that

dazzled the eye, and filled the ſpectators with delight and wonder. The colours and enſigns exhibited a lively repreſentation of the Jewiſh war; the battles that were fought; the cities that were ſtormed; the towers and temples that were wrapt in flames; all were drawn with art, and decorated with the richeſt colouring. The priſoners of war formed a long proceſſion. Simon was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. The well-known ferocity of his character attracted the attention of the multitude, and fixed all eyes upon him. He walked with abated pride, but the traces of guilt and cruelty were ſtill viſible in every feature. The triumph ſtopped at the capital. Simon was ſeized and dragged to execution on the Tarpeian rock; there to pay the forfeit of his crimes, and fall a victim to his countrymen, whom his atrocious deeds had ruined.

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XXI. It is not the deſign of this abridgment to detail the hiſtory of Veſpaſian's reign. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that he cloſed the Temple of Janus, having ſettled a profound peace throughout the Roman world. He and Titus were joint conſuls in the year of Rome 825; Veſpaſian for the fourth time; Titus the ſecond. Their firſt care was to allay the ſpirit of party and faction, which had embittered the minds of men in the diſtractions of the civil war; to reform the manners, give energy to the laws, and teach the military to ſubmit to the civil authority. The records of the old republic, and all the valuable monuments of antiquity, had periſhed in the flames of the capitol: not leſs than three thouſand brazen tablets, on which were engraved the decrees of the ſenate, and the acts of the people, were deſtroyed in that dreadful conflagration. To repair the loſs as well as might be, Veſpaſian ordered diligent ſearch to be made in every quarter for the copies that were known

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to exiſt; and, after due examination, he depoſited the ſame in the public archives. He rebuilt the capitol; promoted arts and ſciences; encouraged men of genius *(a)*; and, though his avarice, in many inſtances, was little ſhort of rapacity, he ſpared no expence to reſtore the buildings which had been deſtroyed by Nero's fire, and, in general, to improve and adorn the city.

Theſe were imperial works, of the higheſt advantage to the people, and all carried on with vigour that did honour to a patriot prince. It muſt not be diſſembled, that, amidſt his public cares, his private conduct was not without a ſtain. His amorous paſſions were not ſubdued by age. A courteſan, of the name of Cænis *(b)*, had won his affections, before he married Flavia Domitilla; and, after the death of his wife, ſhe was able to allure him back to her embraces. Her influence was ſuch, that ſhe lived in all the ſtate and grandeur of an empreſs. She diſpoſed of all favours; granted the government of provinces; and accumulated enormous wealth without any ſcruple about the means. This, beyond all queſtion, was a blemiſh in the character of Veſpaſian; but, happily, he was delivered from the diſgrace and obloquy, occaſioned by his being the dupe of love in the decline of life. Cænis died in the year of Rome 827; and from that time, the money that was drained by hard exactions from the provinces, was, without reſerve, laid out for the uſe and ornament of the city.

If Titus, after the example of his father, gave a looſe to love, it cannot be matter of wonder that he thought youth the ſeaſon of pleaſure and gay enjoyments. His paſſions broke out without reſtraint. He paſſed the night in joy and revelry with a band of diſſolute

diſſolute companions, inſomuch that the people began to dread a return of all the vices of Nero's reign. Queen Berenice, whom he ſaw in Paleſtine, and was then enamoured of her beauty, lived with him at Rome in the greateſt ſplendour. A report prevailed, that he had bound himſelf to her by a promiſe of marriage. This filled the city with diſcontent and popular clamour. The public voice was loud againſt ſo cloſe a connexion between the emperor's ſon and a princeſs of the Jewiſh nation. Titus, at length, ſaw the current of popular prejudice, and wiſely reſolved to ſacrifice his private pleaſures to the intereſts of the ſtate. Berenice returned to her own country. They parted with mutual reluctance, or, as Suetonius expreſſes it, with ſomething like the elegant brevity of Tacitus, *Berenicem ab urbe dimiſit, invitus invitam (c).* The virtues which made him afterwards the delight of human kind, reſumed their influence, and, from that time, inſpired all his actions.

XXII. In the courſe of Veſpaſian's reign, two tranſactions occurred, which, it muſt be acknowledged, have left a ſtain upon his memory. Of theſe it will not be improper to give a ſhort detail. The firſt was the death of Helvidius Priſcus, who has been often mentioned by Tacitus. That excellent man fell a ſacrifice to his enemies, and, perhaps, to his own intemperate conduct. Initiated early in the doctrines of the ſtoic ſchool, and confirmed in the pride of virtue by the example of Pætus Thraſea, his father-in-law, he ſaw the arts by which Veſpaſian, notwithſtanding the rigour of his nature, courted popularity; and did not ſcruple to ſay, that liberty was more in danger from the artifices of the new family, than from the vices of former emperors. In the ſenate he ſpoke his mind with unbounded freedom. Veſpaſian bore his oppoſition to the meaſures of govern-

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ment with patience, and ſilent dignity. He knew the virtues of the man, and retained a due eſteem for the memory of Thraſea. Willing, on that account, to live on terms with Helvidius, he adviſed him to be, for the future, a ſilent ſenator. The pride of a ſtoic ſpurned at the advice. Paſſive obedience was ſo repugnant to his principles, that he ſtood more firm in oppoſition. Mucianus and Eprius Marcellus, who were the favourite miniſters of the emperor, were his enemies; and it is probable that, by their advice, Veſpaſian was at length induced to let the proceedings of the ſenate take their courſe. Helvidius was arraigned by the fathers, and ordered into cuſtody. He was ſoon after baniſhed, and, in conſequence of an order diſpatched from Rome, put to death. It is ſaid *(a)* that Veſpaſian relented, and ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to reſpite execution; but the blow was ſtruck. Helvidius was, beyond all queſtion, a determined republican. His own imprudence provoked his fate; and this, perhaps, is what Tacitus had in contemplation *(b)*, when he places the moderation of Agricola in contraſt to the violent ſpirit of others, who ruſh on certain deſtruction, without being by their death of ſervice to the public.

XXIII. The caſe of Eponina was an inſtance of extreme rigour, or rather cruelty. She was the wife of Julius Sabinus, a leading chief among the Lingones. This man, Tacitus has told us *(a)*, had the vanity to derive his pedigree from Julius Cæſar, who, he ſaid, during his wars in Gaul, was ſtruck with the beauty of his grandmother, and alleviated the toils of the campaign in her embraces. Ambitious, bold, and enterpriſing, he kindled the flame of rebellion among his countrymen, and, having reſolved to ſhake off the Roman yoke, marched at the head of a numerous army into the territory of the Sequani, a people in

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in alliance with Rome. This was A. U. C. 823. He hazarded a battle, and was defeated with great ſlaughter. His raſh-levied numbers were either cut to pieces, or put to flight. He himſelf eſcaped the general carnage. He fled for ſhelter to an obſcure cottage; and, in order to propagate a report that he deſtroyed himſelf, ſet fire to his lurking-place. By what artful ſtratagems he was able to conceal himſelf in caves and dens, and, by the aſſiſtance of the faithful Eponina, to prolong his life for nine years afterwards, cannot now be known from Tacitus. The account which the great hiſtorian promiſed, has periſhed with the narrative of Veſpaſian's reign. Plutarch *(b)* relates the ſtory as a proof of conjugal fidelity. From that writer the following particulars may be gleaned: Two faithful freedmen attended Sabinus to his cavern; one of them, Martialis by name, returned to Eponina with a feigned account of her huſband's death. His body, ſhe was made to believe, was conſumed in the flames. In the vehemence of her grief ſhe gave credit to the ſtory. In a few days ſhe received intelligence by the ſame meſſenger, that her huſband was ſafe in his lurking-place. She continued during the reſt of the day to act all the exteriors of grief, with joy at her heart, but ſuppreſſed with care. In the dead of night ſhe viſited Sabinus, and in his arms indulged the tranſports of her ſoul. Before the dawn of day ſhe returned to her own houſe, and, for the ſpace of ſeven months, repeated her clandeſtine viſits, ſupplying her huſband's wants, and ſoftening all his cares. At the end of that time ſhe conceived hopes of obtaining a free pardon; and having diſguiſed her huſband in ſuch a manner as to render a detection impoſſible, ſhe accompanied him on a long and painful journey to Rome. Finding there, that ſhe had been deceived with viſionary ſchemes, ſhe marched back with Sabinus, and lived with him in his den for nine years longer. Mutual

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love was their only comfort. Her tender affection ſweetened the anxieties of her huſband, and the birth of two ſons was a ſource of pleaſure, even in diſtreſs and miſery. In the year of Rome 831, they were both diſcovered, and in chains conveyed to Rome. Veſpaſian forgot his uſual clemency. Sabinus was condemned, and hurried to execution. Eponina was determined not to ſurvive her huſband. She changed her ſupplicating tone, and, with a ſpirit unconquered even in ruin, addreſſed Veſpaſian: "Death, ſhe ſaid, has no terror for me. I have "lived happier under ground, than you upon your throne. "Bid your aſſaſſins ſtrike their blow: with joy I leave a world, "in which you can play the tyrant."

She was ordered for execution. Plutarch concludes with ſaying, that during Veſpaſian's reign there was nothing to match the horror of this atrocious deed; for which the vengeance of the gods fell upon Veſpaſian, and, in a ſhort time after, wrought the extirpation of his whole family.

Veſpaſian died on the twenty-third of June, A. U. C. 832, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, after reigning ten years. Titus died on the thirteenth of September, A. U. C. 834, in the forty-firſt year of his age, after a reign of two years and ſomewhat more than two months.

Domitian was put to death by a band of conſpirators, who were determined to deliver the world from a monſter, on the eighteenth of September, A. U. C. 849, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years; a large portion of human life, as Tacitus obſerves *(c)*, in which the people groaned under the cruelty of an unrelenting and inſatiate tyrant.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

NOTES

ON

THE HISTORY.

NOTES

ON THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

Section I.

(*a*) TACITUS computes 820 years from the foundation of Rome to the end of Nero, when the following Hiſtory begins. The battle of Actium was in the year of Rome 723; from that time the reigns of Auguſtus and the ſucceeding emperors form a period of 98 years to the end of Nero, who died A. U. C. 821.

(*b*) The hiſtory of Rome to the end of the republic, is emphatically called by Tacitus the hiſtory of the Roman people. From the battle of Actium, it is properly the hiſtory of the emperors.

(*c*) Tacitus was, probably, raiſed to the office of quæſtor by Veſpaſian, and perhaps to the ſenatorian rank. Under Titus he advanced, in the regular gradation of the magiſtracy, to the functions either of tribune or ædile; and in the time of Domitian he was one of the quindecimviral college, as well as prætor. See Annals, xi. ſ. 11.

(*d*) It is evident from this paſſage that Tacitus publiſhed his Hiſtory in the reign of Trajan, ſince Nerva is called the Deified Nerva, and the apotheoſis of the emperors was always after their death. Nerva began his reign A. U. C. 849, and died in the year 851, when Trajan ſucceeded by adoption.

Section II.

(*a*) The hiſtory included the whole time from the firſt of Galba to the

the aſſaſſination of Domitian; and, for that reaſon, ſome of the commentators are of opinion that the four princes put to the ſword, are Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian. Others, obſerving that the whole of Domitian's reign is loſt, adapt their notions to the preſent ſtate of our author's work, and reckon Piſo, who was adopted by Galba, one of the four murdered princes.

(b) The inſurrection againſt Galba was an act of ſudden violence; ſoon begun and ended. The three civil wars were as follows: 1. Otho and Vitellius: 2. Vitellius and Veſpaſian: 3. Lucius Antonius and Domitian, A. U. C. 845. The account of this laſt war is loſt. All that can be collected at preſent is, that Antonius, who commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine, formed a league with ſome of the German nations, and declared war againſt Domitian. He hazarded a battle with Lucius Maximus, and met with a total overthrow. He was ſlain in the engagement. Suet. in Domitian, ſ. vi. The foreign wars that diſtracted the empire, during the rage of civil commotions, were, one in Judæa, and the other with Civilis, the Batavian chief.

(c) Britain was finally ſubdued in the reign of Domitian. See the Life of Agricola. It was afterwards neglected and almoſt loſt.

(d) For the Sarmatians and the Suevians, ſee the Geographical Table.

(e) For more of the pretended Nero, ſee Hiſt. ii. ſ. 8. The Parthians were on the point of declaring war in favour of another impoſtor, who took the name of Nero in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 834, and afterwards in the reign of Domitian, A. U. 841.

(f) The cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were deſtroyed by an eruption of the lava of Mount Veſuvius, in the beginning of Titus's reign, A. U. C. 832.

(g) See the conflagration of the Capitol, Hiſt. iii. ſ. 67 and 71.

(h) Collectors of the imperial revenue were inſtituted by the emperors, in order to entrench on the power of the proconſuls, who were the proper officers in all the provinces that remained under the authority of the ſenate. Informers were raiſed to the office of imperial procurators,

and obtained weight and influence in the cabinet. *Adepti procurationes et interiorem potentiam.*

(i) The treachery of friends was the ſcourge and peſt of ſociety for ſeveral years. Trajan repreſſed the miſchief. See his praiſe for that public benefit in Pliny's Panegyric, ſ. 42. *Reddita eſt amicis fides, liberis pietas, obſequium ſervis.*

Section III.

(a) Some of the commentators have objected to the ſentiment expreſſed by Tacitus in this place. Brotier calls it, *Atrox ſententia.* But what is the fair conſtruction? It is this: The crimes of the Roman people were ſuch, that they could no longer expect the protection of the gods. They had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven. Lucan has a ſimilar ſentiment:

> Felix Roma quidem, civeſque habitura beatos,
> Si Libertatis ſuperis tam cura fuiſſet,
> Quam vindicta placet.
>
> PHARSAL. lib. iv. ver. 107.

See Cicero to the ſame effect, De Nat. Deorum, lib. iii. ſ. 32.

Section IV.

(a) Galba, who was not arrived from Spain.

Section V.

(a) The prætorian guards had ſhewn themſelves, at all times, firmly attached to the Cæſarean family.

(b) For an account of Nymphidius and his raſh ambition, ſee the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

(c) The rigour, with which Galba ſupported and enforced military diſcipline, is ſtated by Suetonius, in Galba, ſ. vi.

Section VI.

(a) For Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco, ſee the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

(b) For Galba's journey from Spain, the fate of Cingonius Varro, and

and Petronius Terpilianus, ſee Appendix to Annals, xvi; and this book, ſ. xxxvii.

(c) See alſo in the ſame Appendix, an account of the ſlaughter committed near the gates of Rome by Galba's order; and this book, ſ. xxxvii.

(d) Nero had formed a new legion compoſed of men draughted from the marines. See this book, ſ. xxxi.

(e) The forces from Britain and Germany, which Nero had ſent forward on a wild expedition to the ſtraits of the Caſpian Sea, were all recalled to quell the inſurrection of Vindex in Gaul.

(f) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(g) For the rebellion in Gaul, excited by the enterpriſing ſpirit and undaunted courage of Vindex, ſee Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section VII.

(a) The murder of Fonteius Capito on the Lower Rhine, and of Clodius Macer in Africa, has been related in the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(b) Galba, at his elevation to the imperial dignity, was ſeventy-three years old. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section VIII.

(a) Cluvius Rufus was a writer of hiſtory. Pliny the younger ſays, he told his friend Verginius, If you meet with any thing in my Hiſtory that gives you offence, you will be ſo good as to remember, that Hiſtory muſt not betray the cauſe of Truth. You know, replied Verginius, that whatever I have done, it has been ever my wiſh to have all my actions faithfully related by ſuch a writer as yourſelf. Pliny, lib. ix. epiſt. 19.

(b) The people of Gaul, who ſtood for Vindex, were the Sequani, the Ædui, and the Arverni; for whom ſee the Geographical Table. The ſtates, that lay near the legions on the Upper and Lower Rhine, were the Lingones and the Remi. See the Geographical Table.

(c) The German armies obtained a complete victory over Vindex at Veſontium. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*d*) Verginius commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine. For an account of him and his conduct, ſee the Appendix to the Annals, xvi. ſ. xii. When he was recalled by Galba, Hordeonius Flaccus ſucceeded to the command.

Section IX.

(*a*) This was Vitellius, whom in the ſequel we ſhall ſee emperor of Rome. Galba ſent him to command on the Lower Rhine, while Hordeonius Flaccus, a man in years, and greatly afflicted with the gout, was likely to remain inactive in the province of Upper Germany. See Suet. in Vitellio, ſ. 7.

(*b*) The ſhort reflection of Tacitus on the appointment of Vitellius, is underſtood two different ways by the commentators. According to ſome, the true reading is, *Id ſatis videbatur*, That by Galba was thought ſufficient; according to others, *Id fatis videbatur*, The fates ordained it. The laſt is in the manner of Tacitus, and therefore adopted in the tranſlation.

Section X.

(*a*) See the Hiſtory, book ii. ſ. 1.

Section XI.

(*a*) It has been mentioned in former notes, that it was the policy of Auguſtus to keep the management of Ægypt, the great corn-market of Rome, in his own hands. The expreſſion of Tacitus is remarkable; *domi retinere*, to reſerve the adminiſtration for his own cabinet council. See Annals, ii. ſ. 59.

(*b*) Tiberius Alexander is ſaid to be a native of Ægypt; but, to qualify him for the office of governor, he was made a Roman knight. He was probably the ſame perſon who is mentioned, Annals, xv. ſ. 28.

(*c*) For Mauritania, Rætia, Noricum, and Thracia, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XII.

(*a*) Belgic Gaul began from the Scheld (*L'Eſcaut*) and extended to

the river Sequana (the *Seine*). The revolt of the legions on the Upper Rhine is related by Suetonius, in Galba, ſ. 16.

Section XIII.

(a) Icelus, the favourite freedman, has been mentioned in the Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. xiii. See Pliny the elder, lib. xxxiii. ſ. 2.

(b) For Otho's connection with Poppæa, ſee Annals, xiii. ſ. 45 and 46.

Section XIV.

(a) Suetonius ſays, *Piſonem Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque juvenem, ac ſibi olim probatiſſimum, teſtamentoque ſemper in bona et nomen adſcitum, repente è mediâ ſalutantium turbâ apprehendit, filiumque appellans, perduxit in caſtra, ac pro concione adoptavit.* Suet. in Galba, ſ. 17. According to this account, Galba was determined in his choice, and did not want the advice of Laco. He adopted Piſo from inclination, *propriâ electione.* Plutarch, in the Life of Galba, gives the ſame account. For an account of Piſo's pedigree, ſee Brotier, 4to edition, vol. iii. page 365.

Section XV.

(a) Romulus claſſed the citizens of Rome in thirty *curias*, and from that circumſtance the *Lex Curiata* took its name. The law was enacted by the people aſſembled in their ſeveral curiæ. See Annals, xi. ſ. 22.

(b) Piſo's father, mother, and brother were put to death by Claudius. Another brother (the conſpiracy againſt Nero being detected) opened his veins and bled to death. See Annals, xv. ſ. 59.

Section XVIII.

(a) Thunder and lightning were always conſidered by the Romans as a warning not to tranſact public buſineſs. *Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.* Cicero De Divinatione, lib. ii. ſ. 18.

(b) According to a military cuſtom, eſtabliſhed in an early period of the commonwealth, every Roman ſoldier choſe his favourite comrade, and by that tie of friendſhip all were mutually bound to ſhare every

every danger with their fellows. The conſequence was, that a warlike ſpirit pervaded the whole army. See Livy, lib. ix. f. 39.

Section XX.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Galba, f. 15.

Section XXI.

(*a*) See in Suetonius an account of Otho's circumſtances, and his expenſive luxury. Otho did not ſcruple to ſay, that nothing ſhort of the imperial power could ſave him from utter ruin; and whether he died in battle, or fell a victim to his creditors, was immaterial. *Niſi principem ſe ſtare non poſſe; nihilque referre, ab hoſte in acie, an in foro ſub creditoribus caderet.* Suet. in Otho, f. 5. See alſo Plutarch, in the Life of Galba.

(*b*) Piſo had been by Nero ordered into exile, and might probably return with a mind exaſperated, and deep-ſmothered reſentment, according to the verſes made againſt Tiberius, during his retreat in the iſle of Rhodes.

——————— Regnabit ſanguine multo
Ad regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio.

SUET. in TIB. f. 59.

Section XXII.

(*a*) The character of Otho, as here delineated by the unerring pencil of Tacitus, is finely copied by Corneille in his Tragedy, entitled Otho. A review of the various paſſages, which are tranſplanted into the French play, would be an agreeable amuſement to every reader of taſte, but cannot be compriſed within the limits of a note. It will be ſufficient to ſtate what Corneille himſelf has ſaid in the preface to his tragedy. He makes it his boaſt that he tranſlated as much as he poſſibly could; and it does not appear that the malignant critics of that day charged him with petty larceny, or railed at him with virulence for the uſe which he thought proper to make of a great hiſtorian. Corneille's words are as follows: *Le ſujet de cette tragedie eſt tiré de Tacite, qui commence ſes hiſtoires par celle-ci. Les caracteres de ceux que*

j'y fais parler, y ſont les mêmes que chez cet incomparable auteur, que j'ai traduit tant qu'il m'a été poſſible.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) The place, called *Velabrum*, lay between the Forum and Mount Palatine. The *Millarium aureum* was at the upper part of the Forum. The Temple of Saturn was at the foot of the Capitoline Hill.

(*b*) See Suetonius, Life of Otho, ſ. 6.

Section XXX.

(*a*) See Juvenal's deſcription of Otho's effeminacy, and his looking-glaſs, ſat. ii. ver. 99.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) A portico built by Vipſanius Agrippa in the field of Mars. Horace ſays,

——————— Cum bene notum
Porticus Agrippæ, et Via te conſpexerit Appi.
Hor. lib. i. epiſt. 6.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, Galba put on his breaſt-plate, obſerving, at the ſame time, that it would be a poor defence againſt ſo many ſwords. Life of Galba, ſ. 19. Plutarch relates that the ſoldier, being aſked by Galba who gave him orders, had the ſpirit to anſwer, "My oath "and my duty."

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) In every Roman camp the ſtatue of the emperor was placed in the tribunal, at the head quarters of the general. See Annals, xv. ſ. 29.

(*b*) The form of the military oath was as follows: *Jurant milites, omnia ſe ſtrenuè facturos, quæ præceperit imperator; nunquam deſerturos militiam, nec mortem recuſaturos pro Romanâ republicâ.* Vegetius, lib. ii. cap. 5.

Section XXXVII.

(a) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(b) Polycletus, Vatinius, Helius, and Halotus were favourite freedmen, who roſe to wealth and honours in the reign of Nero. For more of Halotus, ſee Suet. in Galba, ſ. 15.

(c) Vinius alone had amaſſed riches enough to diſcharge the donative, which had been promiſed to the ſoldiers by Nymphidius, in the name of Galba, but which was ſtill withheld. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section XLI.

(a) This was in the Forum, near the Roſtra. It has been obſerved in a former note, that the Pulpit of Harangues was adorned with the beaks of ſhips, and thence called *Roſtra*. For Galba's death and funeral, ſee Suetonius in Galba, ſ. 20.

Section XLII.

(a) Galba laboured under the weight of crimes committed by his miniſter, Titus Vinnius, who is ſaid to have been an accomplice in the plot, which was occaſioned by his own iniquity.

Section XLIV.

(a) On ſeeing the head of Galba, Otho cried out, This is nothing, my fellow ſoldiers: bring me the head of Piſo. See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

Section XLVI.

(a) Flavius Sabinus had been appointed præfect of the city by Nero. The ſoldiers loved the vices of the former reign, and for that reaſon continued Sabinus in the ſame office. For more of Sabinus, ſee Hiſtory, ii. ſ. 74 and 75; and Suet. in Veſpaſian, ſ. 1.

Section XLVII.

(a) The two conſuls, Galba and Vinius, being cut off, the power of convening the ſenate devolved to the city prætor. See Cicero's Epiſtles, lib. x. epiſt. 12.

(b) For

(*b*) For Verania, the wife of Piſo, ſee Pliny the conſul, lib. ii. epiſt. 20.

(*c*) Criſpina, the daughter of Vinius, bought her father's head at a great price from the bands of aſſaſſins. Plutarch, Life of Galba.

Section XLVIII.

(*a*) Calviſius Sabinus, mentioned in this place, was probably the perſon who, in Caligula's reign, commanded in Pannonia, and, on his return to Rome, was compelled to end his days, A. U. C. 792. His wife Cornelia, whom we find abandoned to her libidinous paſſions, almoſt redeemed her character in the laſt act of her life. She periſhed with her huſband. Seneca talks of a perſon of the name of Calviſius Sabinus, who, he ſays, did not know how to enjoy his ſucceſs in the world with moderation; but whether that was the Sabinus of Tacitus is uncertain. *Nunquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius.* Seneca, epiſt. xxvii.

Section L.

(*a*) The battle of Pharſalia was A. U. C. 706; that of Mutina, between Marc Antony and the conſuls Hirtius and Panſa, 711; of Philippi, in the year of Rome 712; and the ſiege of Peruſia, A. U. C. 714.

(*b*) Veſpaſian, in the reign of Caligula, was a time-ſerving flatterer; and, being afterwards overwhelmed with debts, was a man of an equivocal character. See Suet. in Veſpaſ. ſ. 2, 3, and 4.

Section LI.

(*a*) For the revolt of Vindex, and the overthrow of his army, ſee the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section LII.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Vitellio, ſ. 7.

Section LVI.

(*a*) For Colonia Agrippinenſis, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LVII.

(*a*) The firſt legion was probably ſtationed at *Bonna*. See the Geographical Table.

Section LIX.

(*a*) For the legion called the Italic, ſee Hiſtory, ii. f. 6, note (*c*).

(*b*) The Taurinian ſquadron was ſo called from the Taurini, or people of Turin. See the Geographical Table.

Section LX.

(*a*) For Trebellius Maximus, ſee Life of Agricola, f. 16.

Section LXI.

(*a*) The vaſt range of mountains called the Alps, ſeparating Italy from Gaul and Germany, were divided into ſeveral parts, which have their diſtinct names, ſuch as Cottian Alps, Penine Alps, &c. See the Geographical Table.

Section LXII.

(*a*) For the ſloth, drunkenneſs, and other vices of Vitellius, ſee Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 17.

(*b*) Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 8.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) For Divodurum, and the Mediomatrici, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) The original ſays, *in civitate Leucorum*; but it ſhould be remembered that *civitas*, as uſed by Tacitus and other Roman writers, generally implies a ſtate, and not a city in the modern acceptation of the word. For the Leuci, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) See this book, f. 59.

(*c*) This cohort was uſually quartered at Lyons. See Annals, iii. f. 41.

Section

Section LXV.

(a) For the animoſity that ſubſiſted between the people of Lugdunum *(Lyons)* and the city of Vienne, ſee the Appendix to Annals, xvi; and for Vienne, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) The people of Lyons waged war againſt Vindex, and on that account Galba made them feel his reſentment.

(c) The cities of Lyons and Vienne were ſeparated by the river Rhodanus; now the *Rhone*.

(d) The people of Vienne favoured the revolt of Vindex. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section LXVI.

(a) Olive branches and ſacred veſtments were uſually diſplayed in caſes of diſtreſs, when the conquered ſued for mercy. So we read in Livy: *Ramos oleæ ac velamenta ſupplicum porrigentes, orare, ut reciperent ſeſe, receptoſque tutarentur.* Livy, lib. xxiv. f. 30.

Section LXVII.

(a) The territory of the Helvetii was a part of Celtic Gaul, more extenſive than what is now called Switzerland. The people are celebrated by Julius Cæſar for their military virtue, and conſtant warfare with the Germans. *Helvetii reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt, quod fere quotidianis præliis cum Germanis contendant, cum aut ſuis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipſi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.* Cæſar Bell. Gall. lib. i. f. 1.

(b) Brotier ſays, this place was called in ancient inſcriptions, *Reſpublica aquenſis*, on account of the ſalubrity of the waters. He ſuppoſes it to be what is now called *Baden*, in the territory of Switzerland.

Section LXVIII.

(a) For Mons Vocetius, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) For Aventicum, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXX.

(a) The *ala Syllana* was a body of cavalry, originally raiſed by Sylla. For the Padus (now the *Po*), ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) Vitellius

(*b*) Vitellius had been proconſul in Africa, where he adminiſtered the affairs of the province with an unblemiſhed reputation. Suetonius, in Vitell. ſ. 5.

(*c*) For the municipal cities here enumerated, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*d*) The ſquadron of horſe, called *Ala Petrina*, had been ſtationed in Cumberland, as appears by a lapidary inſcription ſet forth in Camden's Britannia.

(*e*) See the Geographical Table.

(*f*) Penine Alps; ſee the Geographical Table. The *Subſignanus Miles*, mentioned in this paſſage, means the ſoldier who fought under the colours, *Vexilla*, and not under the Eagles. The auxiliaries, the veterans detained in the ſervice, and the men draughted from the legions, were of this deſcription.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) Otho, to appeaſe the fury of the ſoldiers, had thrown Marius Celſus into priſon. At that time, he could inſtigate the ſoldiers to perpetrate any atrocious deed, but to command them to forbear was not in his power. *Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum ſcelus; jubere jam poterat.* See this book, ſ. xlv.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) Tigellinus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. ſ. 57; xv. ſ. 37; and Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*b*) For Sinueſſa, ſee Annals, xii. ſ. 66; and ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) For Calvia Criſpinilla, ſee Appendix to Annals, xvi.; and ſee Plutarch, in Galba.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Vitell. ſ. 6.

Section LXXVII.

(a) The number of Conſuls, in the courſe of this eventful year, was ſo great, that it will not be uſeleſs to place the liſt in one view before the eye of the reader.

A. U. C. 822.	Conſuls.
On the Kalends of January, Hiſt. i. ſ. 1.	Galba, Vinius.
Kalends of March, Hiſt. i. ſ. 77.	Salvius Otho, Titianus Otho.
Kalends of May, Hiſt. i. ſ. 77.	Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiſcus.
Kalends of July, Hiſt. i. ſ. 77.	Cælius Sabinus, Flavius Sabinus.
Kalends of September, Hiſt. i. ſ. 77.	Arrius Antoninus, Marius Celſus.
Kalends of November, Hiſt. ii. ſ. 1.	Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina.

Cæcina being pronounced a traitor by the ſenate, on the day before the Kalends of January, A. U. C. 823, the conſul for a ſingle day, being the laſt of the year, was Roſius Regulus. Hiſt. iii. ſ. 37.

(b) Arrius Antoninus, who appears in the foregoing liſt of the conſuls, was grandfather to Antoninus Pius, the upright and virtuous emperor. See letters to him by the younger Pliny, lib. iv. epiſt. 3 and 18; lib. v. epiſt. 10.

(c) For Cadius Rufus, ſee Annals, xii. ſ. 22. For Pedius Blæſus, ſee Annals, xiv. ſ. 18.

Section LXXVIII.

(a) For the cities of Hiſpalis and Emerita, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) See Suetonius, Life of Otho, ſ. 7.

Section LXXXIV.

(a) This rule of military ſubordination ſtands confirmed by experience in every age and country. We read in Livy a ſpeech of Paulus Æmilius to the ſame effect. *Unum imperatorem in exercitu*

providere et conſulere, quid agendum ſit, debere, nunc per ſe, nunc cum iis quos advocaverit in conſilium. In quo exercitu, milites, conſul, et imperator, rumoribus vulgi circumaguntur, ibi nihil ſalutare eſſe. Livy, lib. xliv. f. 34.

Section LXXXVI.

(*a*) The iſle in the Tiber, now called *Iſola di St. Bartolemeo.*

(*b*) The Sublician Bridge, ſo called, becauſe built with wood. A foundation of ſolid marble was laid afterwards, but nothing remains at preſent but the ruins.

Section LXXXVII.

(*a*) See Annals, xiii. f. 24.

Section LXXXVIII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXXXIX.

(*a*) Furius Camillus Scribonianus commanded in Dalmatia, A. U. C 795. Being a man of enterpriſe and bold ambition, he induced the ſoldiers to ſwear fidelity to himſelf, and went into open rebellion. His letters to the emperor Claudius were written in a tone of menace, requiring him to abdicate, and live a private citizen. In the mean time, the rebel legions, with the verſatility common to the military mind, returned to their duty; Scribonianus fled to a ſmall iſland of the Adriatic, on the coaſt of Illyricum, and there was ſeized, and put to death by Volaginius, a common ſoldier, on the fifth day of his revolt. Suetonius, in Claudio, f. 35. See Tacitus, Hiſt. ii. f. 75.

(*b*) Numa, the founder of religious ceremonies, made the Romans believe, that as long as they preſerved the celeſtial arms, called *Ancilia*, which, he ſaid, were ſent down by the gods, Rome would prove invincible, and triumph over all her enemies. Accordingly we read in Livy the proceſſion of the Salian prieſts, on ſtated days, attending the Ancilia with ſong and dance through the ſtreets of Rome. *Salios cœleſtia arma, quæ Ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis ſolemnique ſaltatu juſſerat Numa.* Livy, lib. i. f. 20. This inſtitution was neglected by Otho. Suetonius, Life of Otho, f. 8.

Section XC.

(*a*) M. Valerius Trachalus was joint conſul with Silius Italicus, A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*b*) Otho left the city of Rome on the 24th day of March, as appears from Suetonius, who mentions his neglect of the inſtitutions relating to the Ancilia, as an inauſpicious beginning of the war. Suetonius adds, that he ſet out on the day when all who paid their worſhip to the mother of the gods began the uſual ceremonies. Now that day was the 9th of the kalends of April, which anſwers to the 24th of March. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, ſ. 8.

NOTES

ON THE

SECOND BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

Section I.

(*a*) TACITUS ſays that Fortune was then laying the foundation of a new Imperial Houſe, which proved to be beneficial and diſaſtrous to the people, and alſo to the very family that was raiſed to that pre-eminence. This is perfectly clear, when we conſider, that Rome was happy under Veſpaſian and Titus, but groaned under Domitian, till the tyrant was deſtroyed, and the Flavian line was extinguiſhed.

(*b*) Titus, at this time, was in his twenty-eighth year. By the favour of Narciſſus, to whom Veſpaſian paid his court, Titus was educated in the palace with Britannicus, the ſon of Claudius. The prince, then deſtined by his father to ſucceed to the empire, was cut off by the villany of Nero; and Titus, whoſe elevation was not then foreſeen, lived to be the delight of the Roman people.

(*c*) Suetonius tells us that Narciſſus, the favourite freedman, conſulted a fortune-teller about the deſtiny of Britannicus: the anſwer was unfavourable to the young prince, but aſſured Titus that he was born to the imperial dignity. Suetonius, in Tito, ſ. 2.

Section II.

(*a*) Berenice was ſiſter to Agrippa II. and wife of Herod, King of Chalcis, in Syria. For more of her, and her connexion with Titus, ſee Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 21.

(*b*) When

(*b*) When Titus no longer ſails along the coaſt, but puts off to ſea, Tacitus calls it a bolder voyage, *audentioribus ſpatiis*; an expreſſion, which, in the preſent ſtate of navigation, may provoke the ſmile of a mariner. The compaſs was not invented, and men did not like to loſe ſight of the ſhore.

(*c*) At the town of Paphos, which ſtood on the weſtern ſide of the iſle of Cyprus, a temple was dedicated to Venus, thence called the Paphian Venus. The account of the rites and ceremonies, which Tacitus gives us, has been condemned by ſome critics as an idle digreſſion: but when it is conſidered that the hiſtory of ſuperſtition was not unintereſting to the Romans, this paſſage will not be thought improper. The great hiſtorian has been charged with irreligion; but the attention ſhewn on this occaſion, and many others, to the various modes of worſhip, may ſerve to vindicate his character.

Section III.

(*a*) Aerias has been mentioned in another place, as the founder of the Paphian temple: Annals, iii. f. 63. Tacitus adds, that the name of *Aerias* was applied by many to the goddeſs herſelf; and accordingly, Pauſanias, lib. i. cap. 14, calls her Ουρανίαν.

(*b*) Cinyras is ſaid by Apollodorus to have been one of the Kings of Aſſyria.

(*c*) Thamiras introduced the ſcience of augury, which was founded altogether in deceit and fraud. Accordingly, we find that care was taken to keep it in the hands of two families, that the ſecret of the art might not tranſpire.

(*d*) This circumſtance is mentioned by Pliny in his Natural Hiſtory. *Celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cujus quandam aram non impluit.* Pliny, lib. ii. f. 96.

(*e*) The worſhip paid to Venus, as the parent of the whole animal creation, was of ancient date, and known for ages to the Aſſyrians. The rude ſtate of ſculpture may, perhaps, account for the repreſentation of the goddeſs, as deſcribed by Tacitus. Clemens of Alexandria makes that obſervation. The ſtatuary, he ſays, had not the ſkill to give the elegance of ſymmetry and proportion: He therefore left the form and

and delicacy of Venus to the imagination. As Ovid ſays, *ſi qua latent, meliora putat.*

Section IV.

(*a*) The rapid ſucceſs of Veſpaſian had well nigh ended the Jewiſh war. Jeruſalem was the only place that held out. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 10; and the Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 3.

Section VI.

(*a*) The Parthians were originally a people from Scythia: in proceſs of time, when their empire grew in ſtrength, they became the grand rivals of the Romans. The overthrow of Craſſus is well known. Both nations experienced alternate diſaſters in the courſe of their various wars. See Annals, xv. ſ. 24 and 27.

(*b*) The laſt civil war was that between Vindex and Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 12.

(*c*) It will be proper, in this place, to ſtate the names of the Roman legions, and the places where they were ſtationed. A ſhort, but clear, account of this matter will help to remove the difficulties, which might otherwiſe occur in the ſequel of the hiſtory. Brotier has performed this uſeful taſk with his uſual accuracy. See quarto edition, vol. iii. p. 408. A compendious view of what he has ſaid on the ſubject will, perhaps, be acceptable; as it will ſhew the whole ſtrength of the empire in the important criſis now before us.

The names of the ſeveral legions were as follow:

1. Legio Prima, the firſt legion.

2. Legio Prima Italica, the firſt Italic legion, raiſed by Nero, as appears in Dio, lib. lv.

3. Legio Prima Adjutrix, an additional legion, according to Dio raiſed by Nero from the marines, and, for that reaſon, called *Legio Prima Adjutrix Claſſicorum.*

4. Legio Secunda, the ſecond legion.

5. Legio Secunda Adjutrix, raiſed by Veſpaſian during the war with Vitellius.

6. Legio Tertia, the third legion; ſtationed in Syria.

7. Legio Tertia; another, called alſo the third, in Ægypt.

8. Legio

8. Legio Tertia; another, ſtationed in Africa.

9. Legio Quarta, the fourth legion, called, to diſtinguiſh it from another fourth legion, *Legio Quarta Macedonica.*

10. Legio Quarta, another fourth legion, called, for the ſake of diſtinction, *Legio Quarta Scythica.*

11. Legio Quinta, the fifth legion.

12. Legio Quinta Macedonica, the fifth legion, called the *Macedonian.*

13. Legio Sexta, the ſixth legion, ſometimes called *Legio Sexta Victrix.*

14. Legio Sexta Ferrata; another ſixth legion, with the addition of *Ferrata*, to diſtinguiſh it from the former.

15. Legio Septima Claudiana, the ſeventh, called alſo the *Claudian.*

16. Legio Septima Galbiana, the ſeventh, called the *Galbian.*

17. Legio Octava, the eighth legion, ſometimes called *Invicta.*

18. Legio Nona, the ninth legion; ſometimes called *Gemina*, becauſe it was one legion formed out of two.

19. Legio Decima, the tenth legion, quartered in Spain.

20. Legio Decima, another tenth legion, quartered in Judæa.

21. Legio Undecima, the eleventh legion, ſometimes with the additional title of *Claudiana.*

22. Legio Duodecima, the twelfth legion, ſometimes called *Legio Duodecima Fulminea.*

23. Legio Tertia Decima, the thirteenth legion, called alſo Gemina, becauſe compoſed of two united into one. Legio Quarta Decima, the fourteenth legion.

24. Legio Quinta Decima, the fifteenth legion, ſtationed in the Lower Germany.

25. Legio Quinta Decima, another fifteenth legion, quartered in Judæa, ſometimes called *Legio Quinta Decima Apollinaris.*

26. Legio Sexta Decima, the ſixteenth legion.

27. Legio Septima Decima, the ſeventeenth legion, thought to be one of thoſe that ſuffered in the ſlaughter of Varus.

28. Legio

28. Legio Duodevicessima, the eighteenth legion, another of the legions under Varus.

29. Legio Undevicessima, the nineteenth legion, another legion under Varus.

30. Legio Vicessima, the twentieth legion, called by Dio *Valeria Victrix*.

31. Legio Una-et-vicessima, the twenty-firſt legion, ſometimes with the addition of *Rapax*.

32. Legio Duo-et-vicessima, the twenty-ſecond legion, ſtationed in Germany.

33. Legio Duo-et-vicessima, another twenty-ſecond legion, quartered in Ægypt.

34. Legio e Classicis, a legion formed out of the marine ſoldiers by Vitellius in his laſt diſtreſs, but ſoon received into Veſpaſian's party, and never more diſtinguiſhed.

Such were the names of the legions that occur in Tacitus. If, from the whole number, we deduct the ſeventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, which were all cut off under Varus, and alſo the laſt formed out of the marines by Vitellius, and heard of no more, it will appear that, in the beginning of the enſuing wars, the military eſtabliſhment, excluſive of the forces in Italy, conſiſted of Thirty Legions. Their ſtations were as follows:

In Britain.
The Second, Ninth, Twentieth.
In Spain.
The Firſt Adjutrix, the Sixth, the Tenth.
In Gaul.
The Firſt Italic.
In Lower Germany.
The Firſt, Fifth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth.
In Upper Germany.
The Fourth, Twenty-firſt, Twenty-ſecond.
In Pannonia.
The Seventh Galbian, the Thirteenth.

In Dalmatia.

The Eleventh, the Fourteenth.

In Mœſia.

The Seventh Claudian, the Eighth.

In Syria.

The Third, Fourth, Sixth, Twelfth.

In Judæa.

The Fifth, Tenth, Fifteenth.

In Ægypt.

The Third, the Twenty-ſecond.

In Africa.

The Third.

That ſo ſmall a number of legions ſhould be able, not only to conquer, but to keep in ſubjection the wide extent of the Roman world, might be matter of wonder, if we did not know the wiſdom with which the legions were eſtabliſhed, and the military diſcipline that was, for a number of ages, ſtrictly maintained throughout the Roman armies. Brotier obſerves, that Marſhal Saxe, whoſe extraordinary genius and great experience are univerſally known, was of opinion that France would do well to adopt the ſyſtem of the Roman legions, and new-model her armies on that admirable plan of diſcipline. See *Memoires ſur l'Infanterie, ou Traité des Légions, ſuivant l'exemple des anciens Romains, par M. le Maréchal de Saxe.*

Section VIII.

(*a*) A number of impoſtors, at different times, aſſumed the name of Nero. See Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 57.

Section IX.

(*a*) The ſame ferocity appeared in Nero's countenance after he was dead. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 13.

Section X.

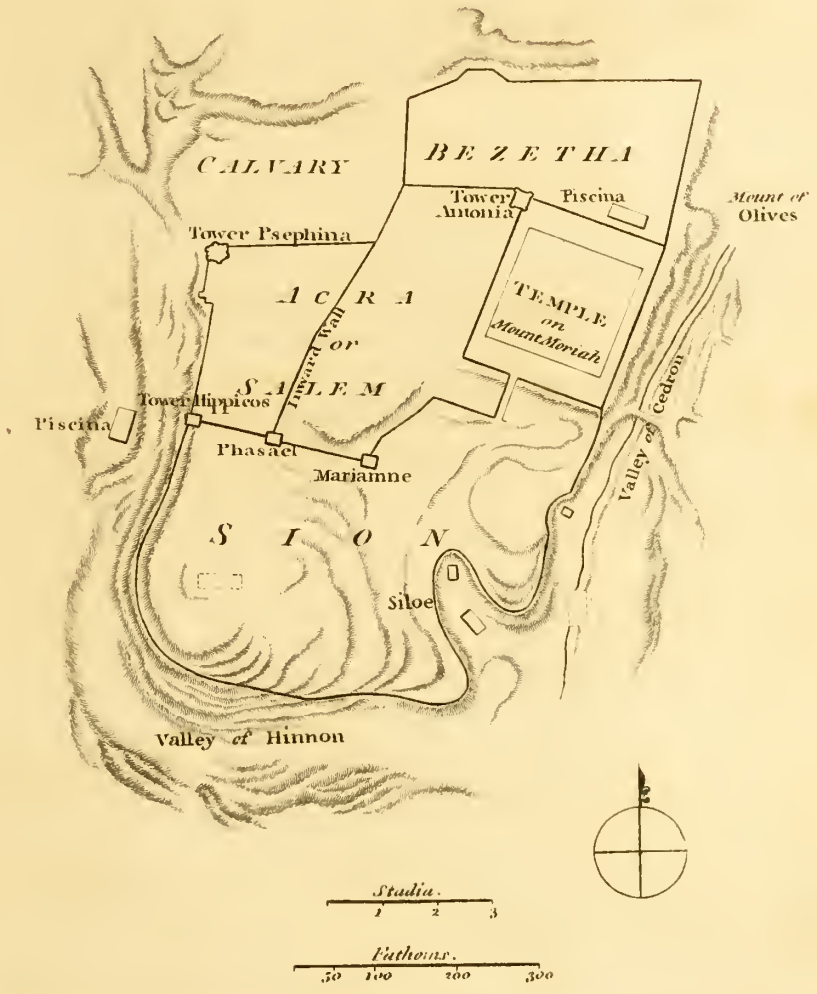
(*a*) His brother was Vibius Secundus; a man convicted of extortion, Annals, xiv. ſ. 28.

Section XI.

(*a*) See Annals, xiv. ſ. 29; Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 39, 40.

(*b*) For

PLAN of JERUSALEM, according to D'ANVILLE.



Cook. sculp.

(*b*) For the excellent character of Veſtricius Spurinna, ſee Pliny, lib. ii. epiſt. 7 ; and lib. iii. epiſt. 1 and 10.

(*c*) Juvenal has given a different deſcription of Otho on his march, ſat. ii. ver. 99. But poetic licenſe cannot weigh againſt the truth of hiſtory.

Section XII.

(*a*) For the maritime Alps, ſee the Geographical Table ; and ſee Annals, xv. f. 32, note (*a*).

Section XVII.

(*a*) For Sylla's cavalry, ſee Hiſt. i. f. 70.

(*b*) The country between the Po and the Alps, compriſing *Piedmont*, *Mont-ferrat*, the Milaneſe : the principal cities were, *Mediolanum*, *Novaria*, *Eporodia*, *Vercellæ*. See Hiſt. i. f. 70 ; and ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XX.

(*a*) Cæcina wore the *ſagum*, which was the German dreſs (ſee The Manners of the Germans, f. 17), and the *braccæ*, or breeches, which diſtinguiſhed the *Gauls*. The ſouthern part of Gaul was called *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and alſo *Braccata*.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) This village, which, according to Cluverius, ſtood at the diſtance of twenty miles from Cremona, and is now called *Caneto*, has been rendered famous by the defeat of Otho, and afterwards, as will be ſeen in the third book of this Hiſtory, by that of Vitellius.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) It appears in Suetonius, that the place which is called *Caſtorum* by Tacitus, was a ſpot where the Temple of Caſtor was built: *Otho tribus quidem, verum mediocribus præliis, apud Alpes, circaque Placentiam, et ad Caſtoris* (SUPPLE TEMPLUM) *quod loco nomen eſt, vicit.* Sueton. in Othone, f. 9. It was about twelve miles from Cremona, between the Po and the Addua (now *Adda*).

Section XXV.

(*a*) Epiphanes was the ſon of Antiochus IV. king of Commagene, a diſtrict of Syria.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) Ticinum, a city built by the Tranſalpine Gauls on the river Ticinus, which is beautifully deſcribed by Silius Italicus in the following lines:

Cæruleas Ticinus aquas et ſtagna vadoſo
Perſpicuus ſervat turbari neſcia fundo,
Et nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem;
Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis
Argutos inter, volucrum certamina, cantus
Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.

De Bello Punico, lib. iv. ver. 82.

It may be doubted, however, whether this deſcription is ſtrictly true. Mr. Addiſon ſays, he does not know why the poet has repreſented it as ſo very gentle and ſtill a river, as the biſhop of Saliſbury ran down with the ſtream thirty miles in an hour, by the help of but one rower.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) The people of Vienne were obliged to purchaſe the protection of Valens. Hiſt. i. f. 66.

(*b*) In an army, where all alike from the higheſt to the loweſt committed the moſt violent outrages, the ſoldiers knew no ſubordination. Guilt, when widely ſpread, levels all diſtinction. Lucan truly obſerves,

——— Facinus, quos inquinat, æquat.

Pharsal. lib. v. ver. 290.

Section XXX.

(*a*) Cæcina was admired by his ſoldiers for thoſe agreeable ſecondary qualities, which often gain the affections of the multitude. Corbulo, the great commander, who is ſo much extolled by Tacitus, united to his ſuperior talents the ſpecious trifles that conciliate favour. *Super experientiam ſapientiamque, etiam ſpecie inanium validus.* Annals, xiii. f. 8.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) Vitellius was of ſo ſluggiſh a diſpoſition, that he ſeemed to act under the direction of others, not from the impulſe of his own mind.

Section

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) It has been already mentioned, that Otho had in his army two thouſand gladiators ; a diſgraceful expedient, ſays Tacitus, but in civil wars adopted by the ableſt generals. *Deforme auxilium, ſed per civilia arma etiam ſeveris ducibus uſurpatum.* See this book, ſ. xi.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) For the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, and the brilliant ſucceſs of his arms in Britain, ſee Annals, xiv. from ſection 29 to 40.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) Salluſt has a ſimilar obſervation : *Natura mortalium avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem.* De Bell. Jugurth. ſ. 6. The ſequel of this ſection, in which the progreſs of the human paſſions and the cauſes of civil commotion are unfolded, has ſome reſemblance to a paſſage in Lucan, which has been quoted in a former note.

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna ſubacto
Intulit, &c.
Et cum conſulibus turbantes jura tribuni.
* * * * * * * PHARSAL. lib. i. ver. 160.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) Brotier obſerves, that the place to which the Othonians advanced, is now called *Tor Anzolini*, between the rivers *Ollio* and *Dermona*.

Section XL.

(*a*) The Addua (now *Adda*) falls into the Po, about ſix miles to the weſt of Cremona.

(*b*) The taſte for ſhew and ſplendour was ſo great, that none, who, in in that age, were what we now call people of faſhion, choſe to appear on the Appian or Flamminian road, or to make an excurſion to their villas, without a train of Numidians mounted on the ſwift horſes of their country, to ride before their carriages, and give notice, by a cloud of duſt, that a great man was on the road. For this fact we are indebted to Seneca, who ſays, *Omnes jam ſic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcurrat*

rat equitatus, atque ut agmen curſorum antecedat : turpe eſt, nullos eſſe, qui occurrentes viâ dejiciant ; qui honeſtum hominem venire magno pulvere oſtendant. Seneca, epiſt. 123.

Section XLII.

(*a*) Suetonius expreſsly ſays, that Otho, in the laſt engagement at Bedriacum, was defeated by a ſtratagem. His ſoldiers were called out to be preſent at a general pacification, and, in the very act of ſaluting the Vitellian army, were ſuddenly attacked. Sueton. Life of Otho, ſ. 9.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) For the twenty-firſt legion called *Rapax*, ſee this book, ſ. 6, note (*b*).

Section XLIV.

(*a*) In the civil wars no priſoners were made, to be afterwards ſold to ſlavery ; and, by conſequence, no quarter was given. Plutarch, in his account of this battle, deſcribes a moſt dreadful carnage. See the Life of Otho.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) We have here a noble ſentiment, in direct oppoſition to the ſtoic doctrine of ſuicide.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) Tacitus has told us, that Otho's mind was not, like his body, diſſolved in luxury. *Non erat Othonis mollis, et corpori ſimilis animus.* Hiſt. i. ſ. 22. His ſpeech upon this occaſion ſhews that he could think with dignity. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, ſ. 10.

Section XLVIII.

(*a*) Auguſtus, Tiberius, and Caligula, were of the Julian line; Claudius, and Nero (by adoption) were of the Claudian; Galba was of the houſe of Servius ; Otho, of the Salvian family.

Section XLIX.

(*a*) This was Verginius Rufus, who conquered Vindex in Gaul, and had the moderation to decline the imperial dignity, when offered to him by the legions. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 12.

(*b*) Nero, in his laſt diſtreſs, fearing that his head would be exhibited

as

as a public ſpectacle, gave directions for his funeral. Otho did the ſame: though tainted with Nero's vices, he cloſed the ſcene with dignity.

(*c*) Plutarch tells us, that he himſelf viſited Otho's tomb at Brixellum. Thoſe periſhable materials have long ſince mouldered away; but the epitaph, written by Martial, will never die. The poet admits that Otho led a diſſolute life; but adds, that, in his end, he was no way inferior to Cato.

Dum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,
Forſitan et poſſet vincere mollis Otho;
Damnavit multo ſtaturum ſanguine Martem,
Et fodit certâ pectora nuda manu.
Sit Cato dum vivit, ſanè vel Cæſare major;
Dum moritur, numquid major Othone fuit?

Lib. vi. epig. 31.

Section L.

(*a*) See Annals, xiii. f. 46; Hiſt. i. f. 13; and Suetonius and Plutarch.

(*b*) Regium was about fifteen miles from Brixellum, where Otho breathed his laſt.

(*c*) See Suetonius, in Veſp. f. 5.

Section LIII.

(*a*) Eprius Marcellus was the inveterate enemy of Pætus Thraſea. Annals, xvi. f. 22 and 28.

Section LIV.

(*a*) The paſſports, called *Diplomata Othonis*, were granted for the protection of travellers and meſſengers. See Pliny, lib. x. epiſt. 14 and 54.

Section LV.

(*a*) The feſtival of Ceres began on the 19th of April. See Annals, xv. f. 53.

Section LVII.

(*a*) For more of Aſiaticus, ſee Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 12.

Section

Section LVIII.

(*a*) For Mauritania, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The Straits of Gibraltar.

Section LIX.

(*a*) The Arar, now the Soane. See Annals, xiii. f. 53.

(*b*) For the extreme poverty of Vitellius, ſee Suet. in Vitel. f. 7.

Section LX.

(*a*) Cæcilius Simplex was conſul when Vitellius, finding his affairs utterly ruined, was willing to abdicate. Hiſt. iii. f. 68. For an account of the conſuls in the courſe of this year, ſee Hiſt. i. f. 77. note (*a*).

Section LXI.

(*a*) The ſeditious were generally given to be devoured by wild beaſts. That was deemed the puniſhment due to pernicious citizens.

Section LXII.

(*a*) Whoever deſires to know more of Vitellius's gluttony, may find a number of particular inſtances collected by Brotier, in his 4to edition of Tacitus, vol. iii. page 433.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) This was Lucius Vitellius, whom we have ſeen with the ſenators at Bononia. This book, f. liv.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) Petronia was the firſt wife of Vitellius. Suet. in Vitel. f. 6.

(*b*) For Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, ſee Suet. in Vitel. f. 3.

(*c*) See Suetonius in the place laſt quoted.

Section LXV.

(*a*) Lucius Arruntius was appointed governor of Spain by Tiberius, and for ten years after detained at Rome. Annals, vi. f. 27.

(*b*) Trebellius

(*b*) Trebellius Maximus commanded in Britain, and was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight from the fury of the ſoldiers. Hiſt. i. ſ. 60.

(*c*) For Vettius Bolanus, ſee the Life of Agricola, ſ. 8 and 16.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) For the Graian Alps, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXIX.

(*a*) The foreign war was with the Batavians, under Civilis; the domeſtic, with Veſpaſian.

Section LXX.

(*a*) This was the 24th of May.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) Valens and Cæcina entered on their joint conſulſhip on the kalends of November. See Hiſt. i. ſ. 77, and note (*a*).

(*b*) Martius Macer commanded Otho's gladiators on the banks of the Po. This book, ſ. 23.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) Sulpicius Camerinus and his ſon were put to death by order of Helius, Nero's freedman, A. U. C. 820. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 9.

(*b*) The ſlaves were condemned to ſuffer death on a croſs.

Section LXXIV.

(*a*) Veſpaſian's two ſons, Titus and Domitian.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Furius Camillus Scribonianus raiſed a rebellion in Dalmatia, in the reign of Claudius, and was ſoon after ſlain, A. U. C. 795.

Section LXXVI.

(*a*) Corbulo was put to death by Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 11.

Section LXXVII.

(*a*) In the reign of Claudius, Veſpaſian had obtained triumphal ornaments for his conduct in Britain. Suet. in Veſp. ſ. 4.

(*b*) Titus had ſerved in the rank of military tribune in Britain as well as Germany, and gave early proofs of the modeſt merit that diſtinguiſhed his character. Suet. in Tito, ſ. 4.

Section LXXVIII.

(*a*) For a number of oracles and prodigies, ſee Suet. in Veſp. ſ. 5 and 7.

(*b*) For Mount Carmel, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXX.

(*a*) In this paſſage Tacitus, perhaps, had his eye upon the character of Scipio, as drawn by Livy. *Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, ſed arte quâdam ab juventâ in oſtentationem earum compoſitus.* Livy, lib. xxvi. ſ. 19.

Section LXXXI.

(*a*) Sohemus, king of the country called *Sophene.* Annals, xiii. ſ. 7. Antiochus, king of Commagene. Annals, xii. ſ. 55. Agrippa II, king of part of Judæa. Annals, xiii. ſ. 7. Berenice, ſiſter to Agrippa, famous for her love of Titus. See Appendix to Hiſt. v.

(*b*) For Berytus, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXXII.

(*a*) For the conduct of Titus, and the progreſs of his arms againſt the Jews, ſee Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 21.

Section LXXXIV.

(*a*) Veſpaſian, in the height of his power, did not ſcruple to raiſe large ſums of money by ſevere exactions; but the apology for his avarice was the liberal ſpirit with which he adorned Rome and Italy with grand and uſeful works. See Suet. in Veſp. ſ. 16.

Section

Section LXXXV.

(*a*) For Apronius Saturninus and Tertius Julianus, ſee Hiſt. i. f. 79.

Section LXXXVI.

(*a*) Primus Antonius, now the leader of Veſpaſian's armies, was formerly convicted of extortion. See Annals, xiv. f. 18.

Section LXXXIX.

(*a*) Vitellius's mother, Sextilia. See this book, f. 64.

Section XCI.

(*a*) The defeat at Cremera, a river in Tuſcany (now *La Varca*), was A. U. C. 277. At Allia (now *Torrente di Catino*), the Roman army was put to the ſword by the Gauls, under Brennus, A. U.C. 364. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that the day on which it happened (*Dies Allienſis*) was marked as unlucky in the calendar, and, according to Cicero, thought more fatal than that on which the city of Rome was taken.

(*b*) The aſſemblies, in which the conſuls were created, are mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 11. For the manner in which that buſineſs was conducted by the emperor Trajan, ſee Pliny's Panegyric, f. 63.

(*c*) Vitellius, in the time of Nero, paſſed his time among pantomime actors, charioteers, and wreſtlers. Suet. in Vitel. f. 4 and 12.

(*d*) Helvidius Priſcus often mentioned, Annals, xii. xiii. xvi; and Life of Agricola, f. 2, note (*a*).

(*e*) Pætus Thraſea, Annals, xiv. f. 12; xvi. f. 21; Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 1.

Section XCIII.

(*a*) The lands round the Vatican were covered with ſtagnated water, and the air, of courſe, was unwholeſome. St. Peter's church ſtands there at preſent; but Brotier ſays, the cardinals never reſide in that quarter.

(*b*) Before the augmentation, the prætorian cohorts (that is, thoſe that were encamped near Rome) were only nine; the city-guard conſiſted of three, called *Cohortes Urbanæ*. Annals, iv. f. 5.

Section XCV.

(*a*) The birth-day of Vitellius is left uncertain. Suetonius, in Vitel. ſ. 3, ſays it was the eighth of the kalends of October, or, according to others, the ſeventh of the ides of September, in the conſulſhip of Druſus Cæſar and Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. C. 768.

(*b*) An order of prieſts was eſtabliſhed by Romulus in honour of Tatius the Sabine king, A. U. C. 7. Annals, i. ſ. 54.

(*c*) Mucianus was the active partiſan of Veſpaſian (this book, ſ. 76). Eprius Marcellus, a man who raiſed himſelf by his flagitious deeds (Annals, xvi. ſ. 28), was the favourite miniſter under Veſpaſian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 8.

Section XCVII.

(*a*) Hordeonius Flaccus was appointed by Galba to the command on the Upper Rhine, in the room of Verginius Rufus. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 12.

(*b*) For the war in which Flaccus was engaged with Civilis, the Batavian chief, ſee Hiſt. iv. ſ. 18.

(*c*) Suetonius gives a different account of Veſpaſian's adminiſtration in Africa. In Veſp. ſ. 4.

Section XCVIII.

(*a*) For the Pannonian Alps, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section C.

(*a*) Brotier thinks that there is a miſtake in the text. The fourteenth legion, he obſerves, ſtood firm for Otho, and, for that reaſon, was ſent into Britain. But perhaps the veterans, who had ſerved their time, and were ſtill retained in the ſervice, were left in Italy.

(*b*) For Hoſtilia, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section CI.

(*a*) That is, during the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian, the laſt of the Flavian line.

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

THIRD BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

Section I.

(*a*) FOR Pætovio, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section II.

(*a*) The forces from Mæſia were not in the action at Bedriacum. See Hiſt. ii. ſ. 44.

Section IV.

(*a*) Ampius Flavianus was related to Vitellius : this book, ſ. 10.

Section V.

(*a*) Aponius Saturninus was governor of Mæſia. Hiſt. ii. ſ. 95, 96.

(*b*) For the Jazyges, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*c*) Sido has been mentioned, Annals, xii. ſ. 29, 30. Of Italicus nothing is now known with preciſion : he was probably the ſon of Sido.

(*d*) A ſquadron of horſe, moſt probably from the city of *Auria* in Spain, and thence called the *Aurianian Cavalry*.

(*e*) For the river Ænus, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section VI.

(*a*) For Corbulo's conduct in Armenia, ſee Annals, xiii ; and for his death by order of Nero, ſee Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 11.

(*b*) For Opiturgium, and Altinum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*c*) Patavium and Atete; ſee the Geographical Table.

(*d*) Forum Allieni, now Ferrara, on the Po.

Section VII.

(*a*) See the ſecond book of the Hiſtory, f. 6, note (*c*).

(*b*) After the calamities occaſioned by Otho and Vitellius, the memory of Galba was held in high reſpect by the people.

Section VIII.

(*a*) The plains of Verona are now called *Campagna di Verona.*

(*b*) Vicetia, now *Vicenza*; ſee the Geographical Table.

(*c*) The Julian Alps, the ſame as the Pannonian. See the Geographical Table.

(*d*) Ægypt was the Roman granary of corn; and Pliny the younger ſays, that the people of that country were proud to find that the conquerors of the world depended on them for their daily maintenance. *Superbiebat ventoſa et inſolens natio, quod victorem populum paſceret; quodque in ſuo flumine, in ſuis manibus, vel abundantia noſtra vel fames eſſet.* Pliny's Panegyric, f. 31.

Section IX.

(*a*) For Hoſtilia, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The river Tartarus, now *Le Tartare.*

(*c*) The forces under Vitellius are enumerated, Hiſt. ii. f. 100. Antonius had as yet under his command three legions only.

Section X.

(*a*) Ampius Flavianus has been already mentioned; this book, f. 4; and Hiſt. ii. f. 86.

(*b*) This prayer of Antonius reſembles the following line in Virgil:

Dii meliora piis, erroremque hoſtibus illum.

GEORGIC. iii. ver. 513.

(*c*) This paſſage ſeems to have been miſunderſtood by ſome of the commentators. They obſerve that there was not ſufficient time for Veſpaſian

paſian to receive intelligence, and return an anſwer favourable to Flavianus; but they might have recollected, that he, who had a long journey to make, moſt probably received the letters in queſtion at ſome place on the road.

Section XII.

(*a*) For Lucilius Baſſus, ſee Hiſt. ii. ſ. 100.

(*b*) For Atria, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XIII.

(*a*) The part of the camp called *Principia*, was the place where the Eagles were depoſited. Statius has a ſimilar paſſage:

——— Concilii penetrale, domumque verendam
Signorum.

THEB. lib. x. ver. 120.

(*b*) Antonius had been convicted of extortion, and for that offence ſent into baniſhment. Annals, xiv. ſ. 40.

Section XVII.

(*a*) The river now called *Dermona*. See the Geographical Table.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) The twenty-firſt legion called *Rapax*, and the firſt called *Italic*, fought on the ſide of Vitellius. See Hiſt. ii. ſ. 100.

Section XXII.

(*a*) It appears from this, that the firſt centurion, *Primipili Centurio*, was the Eagle-bearer.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) The warlike engine, called *Baliſta*, is deſcribed by Vegetius, lib. iv. ſ. 22.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Mark Anthony gained a victory over the Parthians, A. U. C. 718. Dio, lib. xlix. For Corbulo's ſucceſs in Armenia, ſee Annals, xv.

(*b*) The Eaſtern nations worſhipped the riſing ſun. The Parthians are deſcribed in that act of devotion by Herodian, lib. iv. cap. 15.

Section

Section XXVII.

(*a*) For Brixia, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) Pliny the elder was a conſiderable hiſtorian, as appears from Pliny the conſul, lib. iii. epiſt. 5.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) The military ſhell was ſo condenſed, that the darts of the enemy could make no impreſſion. Whoever is curious about the form of the Teſtudo, and other warlike engines employed in ſieges, may conſult Lucan, lib. iii. v. 474.

(*b*) Joſephus ſays, that above thirty thouſand of the Vitellians were put to the ſword, and of Veſpaſian's army about four thouſand five hundred. De Bello Jud. lib. iv. cap. 11.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) The diſplay of clothes and ſacerdotal veſtments in the act of ſuing for peace has been mentioned, Hiſt. i. ſ. 66.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) Mephitis was the goddeſs worſhipped in all places that ſent forth noxious exhalations. Hence we read in Virgil,

——— Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.

ÆNEID, lib. vii. ver. 84.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) Whoever is curious about the diſtinctions between what the Romans called *Connubium* and *Matrimonium*, with the different ceremonies obſerved in each, may conſult Brotier's Tacitus, quarto edition, vol. ii. p. 456.

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) For Aricia, and the neighbouring grove, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) The conſulſhip, in the time of the republic, was an annual office; but Julius Cæſar, in haſte to reward his friends, ſhortened the duration

ration of the office, and advanced ſeveral to that dignity within the year. He was himſelf ſole conſul, A. U. C. 709; he reſigned in favour of Fabius Maximus and Caius Trebonius Nepos. The former dying on the very laſt day of the year, he appointed Caninius Rebulus to fill the remaining ſpace. Cicero laughs at the ſhort-lived dignity. In that conſulſhip, he ſays, no man had time to dine, and no kind of miſchief happened. The conſul was a man of ſo much vigilance, that he did not allow himſelf a wink of ſleep. *Caninio conſule, ſcito neminem prandiſſe; nihil tamen, eo conſule, mali factum eſt. Fuit enim mirificâ vigilantiâ, qui ſuo conſulatu ſomnum non viderit.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. vii. epiſt. 30.

Section XLI.

(*a*) For Ariminum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLII.

(*a*) For Picenum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Sinus Piſanus, now the *Gulf of Piſa.*

(*c*) Portus Herculis Monæci, now called *Monaco.*

Section XLIII.

(*a*) For the Stæchades, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XLV.

(*a*) For Caractacus, and Cartiſmandua queen of the Brigantes, ſee Annals, xii. ſ. 32 to 36.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) The war with Civilis, the Batavian; for which ſee Hiſt. iv. ſ. 12.

(*b*) According to Joſephus, Fonteius Agrippa was afterwards murdered by the Sarmatians. Bel. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) Polemon was made king of Pontus by Caligula; and, after his death, the kingdom was changed by Nero into a Roman province. Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 18.

(*b*) Now *Trebizonde*.

(*c*) By granting the freedom of the city, the Romans drew diſtant colonies into a cloſe alliance.

(*d*) Theſe canoes were ſo light, that the barbarians could carry them on their ſhoulders, and traverſe woods and foreſts without being fatigued with their load. The ſavages of America, and the Greenlanders, have boats bound together with twigs and oſiers, without the uſe of braſs or iron.

Section XLVIII.

(*a*) The river *Cohibus*, Brotier ſays, ought to be called *Cobum*, being the ſame mentioned by the elder Pliny, lib. vi. ſ. 4. *Flumen Cobum è Caucaſo per Suanos fluens.* It diſcharges itſelf into the Euxine.

(*b*) The commentators agree that there is here an error in the text: inſtead of *Sedochezorum regis*, the true reading is, *Sub Sedochi Lazorum regis auxilio.* The *Lazi* were a people of Sarmatia, on the eaſt ſide of the Euxine.

Section L.

(*a*) *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, a port town of *Urbino*, on the Adriatic.

(*b*) *Clavarium* was a donative granted to the ſoldiers to enable them to purchaſe nails for their ſhoes. In like manner the donative for ſhoes was called *Calcearium.* Suetonius in Veſpaſ. ſ. 8.

Section LI.

(*a*) *Janiculum*, a high hill at Rome, but not one of the ſeven; now called *Monte Gianicolo*, and more commonly *Montorio.* The ſtory of a ſoldier killing his brother in battle, and on the diſcovery diſpatching himſelf, is told by Valerius Maximus, lib. v. cap. 5, ſ. 4, but attributed to a ſoldier under Sertorius. See Livy's Epitome, lib. lxxix.

Section LII.

(*a*) Plotius Griphus was one of the friends of Statius the poet, as appears from a poem in the Sylvæ, lib. iv. inſcribed to him.

Section LV.

(*a*) For Mevania, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section

Section LVII.

(a) For Minturnæ, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) Puteolanum, now *Pozzuolo.*

Section LVIII.

(a) For Narnia, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) The people of Rome were divided into five-and-thirty tribes.

Section LIX.

(a) For Mevania, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) For Samnis, the Marſi, and Peligni, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LX.

(a) Carſulæ. See the Geographical Table.

Section LXI.

(a) For Interamna, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) Julius Priſcus and Alphenus Varus, ſent by Vitellius to take poſſeſſion of the Apennine mountains. See this book, ſ. 55.

Section LXII.

(a) For Urbinum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) See Annals, xiv. ſ. 15; xvi. ſ. 21.

(c) See Hiſtory, i. ſ. 7.

(d) Hiſtory, i. ſ. 52.

Section LXV.

(a) He lent his money to Veſpaſian on a mortgage of his houſe and lands. See Suetonius, in Veſp. ſ. 4.

(b) The Temple of Apollo was on Mount Palatine, where Auguſtus formed a library. Horace ſays,

Scripta Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo.

(c) That an agreement was made between Vitellius and Flavius Sa-

binus, the brother of Veſpaſian, appears in Suetonius, in Vitel. ſ. 15. Cluvius Rufus had been governor of a province in Spain; a man of eloquence and great accompliſhments, but void of military talents. See Hiſt. i. ſ. 8.

(*d*) Silius Italicus, the celebrated poet, was conſul A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 12.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) If Veſpaſian ſuffered Vitellius to ſurvive his grandeur, and live a private citizen, men would aſcribe it to pride and arrogance, and the vanquiſhed would not ſubmit to ſee their emperor a living reproach to their whole party; and, conſequently, Vitellius would be in danger from the commiſeration of his friends.

(*b*) Vitellius had great weight and influence in the reign of Claudius. Veſpaſian, at that time, paid his court to the favourite, and alſo to Narciſſus, the emperor's freedman. See Suet. in Veſpaſ. ſ. 4.

Section LXVII.

(*a*) Vitellius abdicated on the 18th of December, A. U. C. 822, after a few months of anarchy, plunder, and maſſacre.

(*b*) See Suetonius, in Vitellio, ſ. 15. Juvenal deſcribes the ſame ſcene; but, according to him, Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, was one of the melancholy train. Tacitus ſays ſhe did not live to ſee the ſad cataſtrophe.

——————— Horrida mater,
Pullati proceres. SAT. iii. ver. 213.

Section LXVIII.

(*a*) We have ſeen that Cæcilius Simplex was impatient to arrive at the conſular dignity, inſomuch that he was accuſed in the ſenate of a deſign to purchaſe it, in the room of Marius Celſus. He did not ſucceed, but Vitellius afterwards gratified his ambition without a bribe. Hiſt. ii. ſ. 60. See the liſt of conſuls for this year, Hiſt. i. ſ. 77.

(*b*) The

(*b*) The Temple of Concord was burnt to the ground in the fire of the capitol, related hereafter in this book, ſ. lxxi. Brotier ſays, it was afterwards rebuilt, as appears by an inſcription ſtill to be ſeen among the ruins:

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS
INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT.

Section LXIX.

(*a*) A Fundane lake, now called *Lago di Fundi*, is mentioned by Pliny, lib. iii. ſ. 5. But the lake now in queſtion was in the city of Rome, near the *Mons Quirinalis*. Brotier ſays there were at leaſt a thouſand of thoſe lakes at Rome, which ought more properly to be called fountains.

(*b*) The curious may conſult a Genealogical Table of Veſpaſian's Family in Brotier's Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 383.

Section LXX.

(*a*) Domitian, who was born on the 9th of the kalends of November, or the 24th of October, A. U. C. 814. Suet. in Domit. ſ. 1.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) The Forum was ſurrounded by a number of Temples; ſuch as, the Temple of FORTUNE, of JUPITER TONANS, of SATURN, the Temple of CONCORD, and ſeveral others.

(*b*) The citadel of the capitol, in which was the Temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS, ſtood near the Tarpeian rock.

(*c*) The *Lucus Aſyli* was ſo called, becauſe it was made a ſanctuary by Romulus to invite a conflux of foreigners to his new ſtate. It ſtood between the two rocks of the Capitoline Hill, on one of which was built the Temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS; on the other, the Temple of FERETRIAN JOVE. Brotier ſays, that in the place of the grove there is now erected the *Piazza del Campidoglio*.

(*d*) The Tarpeian rock, with its hundred ſteps, was on the weſt ſide of the Capitoline Hill; and from that eminence malefactors were thrown headlong into the Tiber.

(*e*) Pliny

(*e*) Pliny the elder ſays, the capitol was ſet on fire by the Vitellians, lib. xxxiv. ſ. 7. Joſephus gives the ſame account, Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 11; and Dio agrees with them both, lib. lxv.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) When Tarquin the Proud was laying the foundation of a temple, the men employed in digging the ground found an human ſkull; and this was interpreted to be the pledge of empire, an auſpicious omen, that Rome would be the miſtreſs of the world. *Nec dubitavere cuncti monſtrum pulcherrimum imperii ſedem caputque terrarum promittere.* Florus, lib. i. cap. 7.

(*b*) It is not ſtrictly true that Porſena became maſter of the city. He was at the gates, but, inſtead of advancing, received hoſtages, and raiſed the ſiege. Florus, lib. i. cap. 10.

(*c*) The city was taken by the Gauls, A. U. C. 364. See Annals, xi. ſ. 24.

(*d*) In the civil war between Sylla and Marius, the capitol was deſtroyed by fire, A. U. C. 671. The Sibylline books periſhed in the flames. See Appian, Bell. Civ. lib. i.

(*e*) Sueſſa Pometia, a city of ancient Latium, about fifty miles from Rome, on the Appian road. The very ruins have periſhed.

(*f*) Horatius Pulvillus was conſul with Valerius Publicola, A. U. C. 247, about three years after the expulſion of Tarquin.

(*g*) Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were conſuls, A. U. C. 671. The capitol was then conſumed by fire; not, however, occaſioned by an open act of violence, but rather by the hands of clandeſtine incendiaries. Sylla undertook to rebuild the capitol, but did not dedicate it. *Hoc felicitati ſuæ defuiſſe confeſſus eſt, quod capitolium non dedicaviſſet.* Pliny, lib. vii. ſ. 43.

(*h*) Lutatius Catulus was conſul with Æmilius Lepidus, A. U. C. 676; before the Chriſtian æra 78.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) Quinctius Atticus and Alienus Cæcina were conſuls from the firſt

firſt of November to the end of the year. See the firſt book of this Hiſtory, ſ. 77.

Section LXXVI.

(*a*) For Feronia, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXVII.

(*a*) The cuſtom of ſending the news of victory, in a letter bound with laurel, has been mentioned in a former note.

Section LXXVIII.

(*a*) For Ocriculum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The Saturnalian feſtival began on the 17th of December.

(*c*) For the *Via Salaria*, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXIX.

(*a*) For *Saxa Rubra*, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) For Fidenæ, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXX.

(*a*) For Arulenus Ruſticus, ſee Annals, xvi. ſ. 26; and Life of Agricola, ſ. 2.

Section LXXXI.

(*a*) Muſonius Rufus has occurred, Annals, xiv. ſ. 59; and Annals, xv. ſ. 71.

(*b*) The proceſſion of the Veſtal virgins is mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. ſ. 16. They received for anſwer, that by the murder of Sabinus, and the fire of the capitol, all negotiation was inadmiſſible. *Dirempta belli commercia.* Virgil has uſed the ſame expreſſion.

——————— Belli commercia Turnus
Suſtulit iſta prior, jam tum pallante perempto.
ÆNEID. lib. x. ver. 532.

Section LXXXII.

(*a*) For Pons Milvius, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXXIII.

(a) Speaking of the wars of Cinna and Sylla, Florus ſays: The laſt grievous calamity that befel the Romans, was a war waged by parricides within the walls of Rome, in which citizens were engaged againſt citizens, with the rage of gladiators exhibiting a ſpectacle in the forum. *Hoc deerat unum populi Romani malis, jam ut ipſe intra ſe parricidale bellum domi ſtringeret, et in urbe mediâ, ac foro, quaſi arenâ, cives cum civibus ſuis, gladiatorio more, concurrerent.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

Section LXXXIV.

(a) The camp of the prætorian guards, a little way out of the city of Rome, firſt deviſed by Sejanus in the time of Tiberius. Annals, iv. ſ. 2.

Section LXXXV.

(a) The porter's lodge. See Suetonius, in Vitel. ſ. 16 and 17.

(b) Dio relates this incident with a ſmall variance. According to him, the German ſoldier ſaid, I will give you the beſt aſſiſtance in my power; and thereupon he ſtabbed Vitellius, and diſpatched himſelf. Dio, lib. lxv.

(c) Gemoniæ, the charnel of malefactors. See Suet. in Vitel. ſ. 7.

Section LXXXVI.

(a) Vitellius owed much to the illuſtrious name of his father; but it appears that he advanced himſelf in the road to honours by the obſequious arts which he practiſed under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. See Suetonius, in Vitel. ſ. 4.

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

Section II.

(*a*) FOR Aricia, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) For Bovillæ, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section III.

(*a*) For Lucilius Baſſus, ſee Hiſt. ii. ſ. 100; and Hiſt. iii. ſ. 12.

(*b*) We have here a ſevere reflection, but fatally founded in truth. Seneca ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe. *Ita naturâ comparatum eſt, ut altius injuriæ, quam merita deſcendant; et hæc cito defluant, illas tenax memoria cuſtodiet.* De Benef. lib. i. cap. 1. Hobbes, the philoſopher of Malmſbury, ſeems to have had his eye on Tacitus, when he ſays, "Benefits oblige, and obligation is thraldom; and unrequitable obligation perpetual thraldom, which is hateful." Leviath. p. 48.

(*c*) See Suetonius, in Domit. ſ. 1.

Section IV.

(*a*) Mucianus aſſumed a character above the rank of a private

citizen, when he took upon him to addreſs the conſuls and the ſenate. See Cicero ad Familiares, epiſt. xv.

(*b*) Triumphs and triumphal ornaments were never granted for a victory over Roman citizens. For that reaſon, ſome advantage, which Mucianus had gained over the Sarmatians, ſerved as a pretext.

Section V.

(*a*) Helvidius Priſcus has been mentioned, Annals, xvi. ſ. 35. As Cluvius was his father, it follows that he was adopted by a perſon of the name of Helvidius Priſcus. Lipſius thinks it was by Helvidius mentioned Annals, xii. ſ. 49, who at that time ſerved in Aſia in the capacity of military tribune.

(*b*) For Pætus Thraſea, ſee Annals, xvi. ſ. 28 and 35.

Section VI.

(*a*) When the love of honeſt fame becomes the ruling paſſion, good men are unwilling to reſign it; and, accordingly, we often ſee it diſplayed in the laſt act of their lives.

(*b*) Helvidius was baniſhed by Nero, Annals, xvi. ſ. 35. He returned to Rome among the exiles whom Galba reſtored to their country. See Hiſt. ii. ſ. 92.

(*c*) Eprius Marcellus was the mortal enemy of Thraſea. See Annals, xvi. ſ. 28.

(*d*) The decree of the ſenate, by which the imperial prerogative was veſted in the emperor, is uſually called *Lex Regia*. Brotier ſays, the law paſſed in favour of Veſpaſian is ſtill extant on a table of braſs, carefully preſerved at Rome. See his Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 487.

Section VII.

(*a*) Who Sentius was does not appear. Brotier thinks there is a miſtake in the text, and that the true reading is Seneca, with whom Veſpaſian was, probably, connected in friendſhip.

Section

Section VIII.

(a) Ambaſſadors, and deputies ſent on particular occaſions, were generally choſen by ballot, as appears in Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. epiſt. 17. See alſo Suetonius, in Aug. ſ. 35.

(b) See the ſpeech of Eprius Marcellus againſt Thraſea, Annals, xvi. ſ. 28.

Section IX.

(a) For the managers of the *Ærarium*, or the public treaſury, ſee Annals, xiii. ſ. 29.

(b) Helvidius contended for the independency of the ſenate. His enemies took care to ſtore that circumſtance in their minds for a future day. The ruin of this excellent man was the diſgrace of Veſpaſian's reign. See Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 22.

Section X.

(a) Muſonius Rufus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. ſ. 59; Annals, xv. ſ. 71; Hiſt. iii. ſ. 79.

(b) Egnatius Celer; Annals, xvi. ſ. 32.

(c) For Barea Soranus, ſee Annals, xii. ſ. 53; Annals, xvi. ſ. 21 and 23.

Section XI.

(a) Calpurnius Galerianus was the ſon of Calpurnius Piſo, who diſpatched himſelf to avoid Nero's cruelty. Annals, xv. ſ. 59.

(b) Aſiaticus was the favourite freedman of Vitellius. Hiſt. ii. ſ. 57. 95.

Section XII.

(a) For the Batavi and the Catti, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. 29.

(b) The Batavians ſerved in Britain as the allies and auxiliaries of Rome. Life of Agricola, ſ. 18 and 36.

Section XIII.

(a) Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis were brothers, as appears in

this book, f. 32. Civilis is called Julius Civilis, Hiſt. i. f. 59. Perhaps his name was Julius Claudius Civilis.

(b) For Hannibal's perſon, ſee Livy, lib. xxii; and for Seſtorius, ſee his Life in Plutarch.

Section XIV.

(a) The Barbarians conſulted about the operations of war at their carouſing feſtivals, and frequently in their ſacred groves. See the Manners of the Germans, f. 9 and 22. Brotier thinks the wood where Civilis held his convention, was between the Rhine and the Moſa (the *Meuſe*), at a place now called *Dooden-Werd.*

Section XV.

(a) The Caninefates occupied the weſtern part of the iſland of Batavia, as Brotier thinks, near the *Hague* and *Rotterdam.*

(b) For Magontiacum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(c) Caligula's wild expedition into Germany, A. U. C. 793.

(d) For the Friſii, ſee the Geographical Table.

(e) The part of the iſland now called *Betuwe,* or *Betaw.*

Section XVII.

(a) The defeat of Vindex at Viſontium in Gaul. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 12.

(b) Before tributes impoſed, A. U. C. 769.

Section XVIII.

(a) For *Vetera,* or *Vetera Caſtra,* ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XIX.

(a) For Bonna, now *Bonn,* ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

(a) For the Bructeri and Tencteri, ſee the Geographical Table, and Annals, xiii. f. 56.

Section XXII.

(*a*) The Barbarians carried the heads and images of wild beaſts among their ſtandards. See the Manners of the Germans, ſ. 7.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) The obſervation which Tacitus has compreſſed into a maxim, is explained by Cicero in his more open ſtyle. Having mentioned a number of prodigies, he ſays, *Atque hæc in bello plura et majora videntur timentibus; eadem non tam animadvertuntur in pace. Accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo, cum creduntur facilius, tum finguntur impunius.* Cicero de Divinatione, lib. ii. ſ. 27. This may account for the portents and prodigies which ſo often occur in the Roman hiſtorians, who are often ſaid to be ſuperſtitious, when they are giving a true picture of the public mind. See the phænomena of this kind, Hiſt. i. ſ. 86.

(*b*) For Noveſium, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*c*) For Gelduba, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*d*) The Gugerni, originally a people of Germany, inhabiting the country now called *Cleves* and *Gueldre*, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuſe*.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The Menapii and Morini, in the Geographical Table.

(*c*) Marcodurum. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXX.

(*a*) The prætorian gate of a Roman camp was oppoſite to the Decuman. See Annals, i. ſ. 66.

(*b*) This extraordinary engine was invented by Archimedes, the celebrated geometrician, during the ſiege of Syracuſe, which was conducted by Marcellus. See Polybius, lib. viii.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) The victory at Cremona was about the end of October. Hiſt. iii. ſ. 22.

Section

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) For Aſciburgium, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The Vaſcones inhabited the country of *Navarre*.

(*c*) For Noveſium and Magontiacum, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) Vitellius died about the end of December.

(*b*) For the Catti, Uſipii, Mattiaci, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) The province of Africa, now the kingdom of *Tunis*.

(*b*) To have plenty of corn is the only patriot care of the vulgar. Juvenal adds the love of ſpectacles in the circus:

——duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenſes. SAT. x. ver. 80.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) Brotier ſays that ſeveral works by Frontinus, which ſhew more labour than genius, are ſtill extant; ſuch as, *Stratagemata*, *De Coloniis*, *De Aquæductibus*. Being city-prætor, he convened the ſenate on the firſt of January in the abſence of the conſuls, Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus.

(*b*) Scribonianus Craſſus was the brother of Piſo, whom Galba adopted. Hiſt. i. ſ. 15 and 16.

Section XL.

(*a*) The calendar in Nero's time was filled with days of ſupplication and public thanks.

(*b*) See this book, ſ. 10.

(*c*) Demetrius attended Thraſea in his laſt moments. Annals, xvi. ſ. 35. And now the ſame defends the proſecutor of Soranus: ſuch was the conſiſtency of a philoſopher by profeſſion!

(*d*) See the praiſe of Junius Mauricus in Pliny the younger, lib. iv. epiſt. 22. See alſo Life of Agricola, ſ. 45.

Section

Section XLI.

(a) The two Scribonii, whoſe names were Rufus and Proculus, were put to death by Nero, at the inſtigation of Pactius Africanus, A. U. C. 820. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 11.

(b) For Vibius Criſpus, ſee Hiſtory, ii. ſ. 10; and ſee the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 8.

Section XLII.

(a) Meſſala, not of ſenatorian age, that is, not five-and-twenty.

(b) Regulus was a practiſed informer. Pliny calls him, *Bipedum nequiſſimus*. Lib. i. epiſt. 5. See lib. ii. epiſt. 20.

(c) Craſſus Camerinus and Scribonianus Camerinus were accuſed by Regulus in the reign of Nero, and put to death. See Pliny, lib. i. epiſt. 5. Cornelius Orphitus was conſul in the time of Claudius, A. U. C. 804. Annals, xii. ſ. 41. He was afterwards a time-ſerving orator under Nero, Annals, xvi. ſ. 12.

(d) Curtius Montanus is mentioned with contempt and ridicule; a man diſtinguiſhed by the enormous ſize of his belly.

Montani quoque venter adeſt abdomine tardus.

SAT. iv. ſ. 107.

Section XLIV.

(a) The murder committed by Octavius Sabinus Sagitta is related more fully, Annals, xiii. ſ. 44.

(b) Antiſtius Soſianus was baniſhed for his verſes againſt Nero. Annals, xiv. ſ. 48. See alſo Annals, xvi. ſ. 14.

Section XLV.

(a) For Colonia Senenſis, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XLVII.

(a) Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian, was murdered by the Vitellians. Hiſt. iii. ſ. 74.

Section

Section L.

(*a*) For more of Bebius Maſſa, ſee Life of Agricola, ſ. 45. He is mentioned by Juvenal as a noted informer:

——Quem Maſſa timet, quem munera palpat
Carus.

(*b*) For Adrumetum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*c*) For the cities of Ocenſis and Leptis, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LIII.

(*a*) Lucius Veſtinus was a native of *Vienne*, a city near Lyons.

(*b*) Upon all ſolemn occaſions the Romans made choice of men whoſe names they thought auſpicious. See Cicero De Divinatione, lib. i. ſ. 102.

(*c*) The ſplendour and magnificence of the Capitol and the Temple of Jupiter are deſcribed by Plutarch, Life of Poplicola.

Section LIV.

(*a*) The order of Druids had been ſuppreſſed in Gaul by Tiberius. Pliny, lib. xxx. ſ. 4; and the emperor Claudius extinguiſhed their religion. Suetonius, in Claud. ſ. 25. It is probable, therefore, that a race of Druids was ſent from Britain.

Section LV.

(*a*) For the Ubii, Tungri, Treviri, and Lingones, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LVI.

(*a*) Betaſii, inhabitants of what is now called *Brabant*.

Section LVII.

(*a*) For Sacrovir, ſee Annals, iii. ſ. 46.

(*b*) For Vindex, and the revolt in Gaul under his conduct, ſee Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 12.

Section LXI.

(*a*) To bind themſelves by a ſolemn vow not to clip their hair or beard,

beard, till they had accompliſhed their revenge, was uſual among Barbarians. The cuſtom obtained in civilized nations, inſomuch that Suetonius tells us of Julius Cæſar, *Milites diligebat uſque adeo, ut, audita clade Tituriană, barbam capillumque ſummiſerit, nec ante dempſerit, quam vindicaſſet.* Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 67. See alſo the Manners of the Germans.

(b) For *Veleda*, and other prophetic women, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. 8.

Section LXII.

(a) A ſquadron of cavalry raiſed by the people of Picentia, whoſe territory, called *Ager Picentinus*, lay on the Tuſcan Sea.

Section LXIV.

(a) The Romans kept the nations in ſubjection, not ſo much by their arms, as by the allurements of pleaſure, which they called civilization. See the Life of Agricola, ſ. 21.

Section LXVI.

(a) For the Sunici, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXVII.

(a) Tables of braſs, on which was engraved the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Lingones.

(b) For the Sequani, ſee the Geographical Table.

(c) The account here promiſed of Eponina's fidelity has not come down to us. She was diſcovered in a cavern with Sabinus her huſband, nine years afterwards, and with him conveyed to Rome. Plutarch, who relates the particulars, ſays that her death was the diſgrace of Veſpaſian's reign. See Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 23.

(d) The Remi inhabited what is now called the dioceſe of *Reims*.

Section LXIX.

(a) See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section LXX.

(*a*) The country about *Bruges*.

(*b*) The Rhæti, now the *Griſons*.

(*c*) Vangiones, now the dioceſe of *Worms*.

(*d*) For Bingium, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*e*) Nava, a river that runs into the Rhine. See the Geographical Table.

(*f*) Mediomatrici, now the dioceſe of *Metz*.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) Rigodulum; now *Rigol*, on the *Moſelle*, near *Treves*.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 8 and 12; Plutarch, in Mario; and Mallet's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Denmark, vol. i. p. 13.

(*b*) For Arioviſtus, the German chief who puſhed his conqueſts in Gaul, ſee Cæſar De Bell. Gall. lib. i. ſ. 31.

Section LXXIV.

(*a*) No tribute was required from the Gauls, but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of government.

(*b*) Seneca expreſſes himſelf to the ſame effect: *Omnia itaque ſic patitur ſapiens, ut hiemis rigorem, et intemperantiam cœli, ut fervores morboſque, et cætera forte accidentia.* Seneca, De Conſtantiâ Sapientis, cap. 9. Pope has ſaid in the ſame ſpirit:

> If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's deſign,
> Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?

Section LXXVI.

(*a*) The Treviri and Lingones had been perſuaded by Cerealis to lay down their arms.

Section LXXVII.

(*a*) Hordeonius Flaccus and Vocula were murdered by their own ſoldiers. Numiſius and Herennius died by the ſword of the enemy.

Section

Section LXXIX.

(*a*) Tolbiacum, now *Zulpich*, in the dioceſe of *Cologne*.

(*b*) Brotier ſays, a military road may ſtill be traced from *Geſſoriacum* (now *Boulogne*) to *Atuatuca*, the capital of the *Tungri*; now *Tongres*, in the biſhopric of *Liege*.

Section LXXX.

(*a*) The ſon of Vitellius, called Germanicus, Hiſt. ii. ſ. 59.

(*b*) See Hiſt. ii. ſ. 86.

(*c*) Cæcina was kept in chains by his own ſoldiers, Hiſt. iii. ſ. 31.

Section LXXXI.

(*a*) It is not clear that Tacitus placed any faith in this extraordinary ſtory. He ſays, indeed, that the two miracles were atteſted by men who were eye-witneſſes, and had no longer any intereſt to corrupt their teſtimony. But that very obſervation implies that there might have been, at the point of time, *mendacio pretium:* if ſo, men, who have been the authors of a lie, are not always willing to convict themſelves. It is moreover evident that they might have been impoſed upon. We ſee that Veſpaſian was afraid of expoſing himſelf to public ridicule, and therefore conſulted the phyſicians, who reported that the two men were curable; and in conſequence of that opinion, Veſpaſian was willing to hazard the attempt, as Suetonius ſays, before a public aſſembly, *palam pro concione.* The phyſicians, it is highly probable, produced the two patients, when they had by their previous arts enſured the emperor's ſucceſs. The ſtory is not related by Tacitus with the air of a man who believed the fact: he has elſewhere given his reaſon for ſometimes admitting the improbable into his narrative: *Vulgatis traditiſque demere fidem non auſim.* Voltaire ſeems to be the only writer who has endeavoured to eſtabliſh this miraculous cure. He ſays, *De toutes les guériſons miraculeuſes, les plus atteſtées, les plus authentiques ſont celles de cet aveugle, à qui l'empereur Veſpaſian rendit la vue, et de ce paralytic auquel il rendit l'uſage de ſes membres. Ce n'eſt pas lui qui cherche à ſe faire valoir par des preſtiges, dont un monarque affermi n'a pas beſoin.*

Voltaire's reaſon for giving credit to the ſtory is highly unfortunate. Veſpaſian was far from being eſtabliſhed in the imperial ſeat. Suetonius expreſsly ſays, he was not then poſſeſſed of the ſovereign majeſty: *Auctoritas et quaſi majeſtas quædam novo principi deerat.* See Suetonius, in Veſp. ſ. 7. The new emperor was adviſed by his friends to act his part on the occaſion. The pretended power of working miracles was thought good policy. Voltaire does not appear to have examined the ſtory with due attention. It is well known that his remarks are often made with a ſiniſter purpoſe.

(*b*) In caſe of ſickneſs, it was the cuſtom of the common people, by the advice of the Ægyptian prieſts, to abſtain from food, and lie in the Temple of Serapis, ſtretched on the ſkins of victims ſlain at the altar. Hence the diſtempered viſions of crazed imaginations, which were conſidered as *light divine and prophecy.*

(*c*) Suetonius relates the two miracles; but what Tacitus calls a paralytic hand, he ſays was a *paralytic leg.* In Veſp. ſ. 7.

(*d*) Tacitus wrote his Hiſtory in the reign of Trajan, when the Veſpaſian or Flavian family was extinct.

Section LXXXII.

(*a*) This account of Veſpaſian and Baſilides is related by Suetonius, in Veſp. ſ. 7.

(*b*) The name of Baſilides, from the Greek word βασιλευς, gave Veſpaſian ſtronger hopes of attaining the ſovereign power.

Section LXXXIII.

(*a*) The deſcendants of Eumolpus, called Eumolpidæ, were the prieſts of Ceres, who preſided over the rites, called, from the town of *Eleuſis*, the *Eleuſinian myſteries.*

(*b*) For Sinope, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section LXXXIV.

(*a*) For the city of Rhacatis, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) For Memphis, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section

Section LXXXV.

(*a*) Valentinus, mentioned in this book, f. 71.

Section LXXXVI.

(*a*) Domitian is praiſed by Silius Italicus for the ability and conduct with which he ended the Batavian war.

> At tu tranſcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum,
> Jam puer auricomo performidate Batavo.
>
> Lib. iii. ver. 607.

But Silius Italicus offered the incenſe of a poet to the reigning prince. Cerealis was the general that conquered the Batavian chief. See Appendix to Hiſt. v. f. 1.

(*b*) Domitian is highly praiſed by Quintilian for his love of literature; lib. x. cap. 1; and alſo by Silius Italicus, lib. iii. ver. 618. Suetonius agrees with Tacitus: *Simulavit et ipſe modeſtiam, imprimiſque poeticæ ſtudium, tam inſuetum antea ſibi, quàm poſtea ſpretum et abjectum.* Suetonius, in Domit. f. 2.

NOTES

ON THE

FIFTH BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

Section I.

(*a*) TITUS ſerved with his father in Britain, in Germany, and Judæa. Suetonius, in Veſp. ſ. 4; in Tito, ſ. 4.

(*b*) See an account of the army under Titus; Joſephus, Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 6.

Section II.

(*a*) This account of the origin of the Jewiſh nation has been the ſubject of much elaborate criticiſm. The commentators are not a little ſurpriſed that an hiſtorian, of an enlarged and comprehenſive mind, ſhould not have thought it worth his while to gain the moſt exact information concerning a people, whoſe final ruin he was to relate. That neglect is ſtill more ſurpriſing, when it is conſidered that, in the reign of Trajan, when Tacitus publiſhed his work, the page of Jewiſh hiſtory was fully diſcloſed, and acceſſible to the curioſity of every Roman. Joſephus lived at Rome, under Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian; and under the laſt of thoſe emperors his Hiſtory of the War in Judæa was publiſhed. Tacitus, however, neglecting all theſe advantages, has given an account ſo mixed with fable, that the gleam of truth, which breaks out in one ſhort paſſage, is almoſt extinguiſhed by the ſurrounding rubbiſh. He deduces the origin of the Jews from five different

nations; namely, the Cretans, the Ægyptians, the Æthiopians, the Aſſyrians, and the Solymans mentioned by Homer. Theſe various opinions are reported with an air of indeciſion that leaves the reader to chooſe for himſelf. The Jews, it is true, were beheld by the Romans with contempt and deteſtation. Tacitus charges the whole nation with a fixed and ſullen hatred of all mankind; *adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*; and it is therefore probable, that, with regard to ſuch a race, he did not think it neceſſary to enter into a minute enquiry, though the materials were within his reach; and it is certain that no people whatever have been ſo careful to preſerve the proofs of their deſcent from a ſingle founder, and to tranſmit to poſterity the regular genealogy of their ſeveral families.

(*b*) This was the fabulous tradition of the Greeks, who deduced all things from Jupiter and Saturn, and were at great pains to embelliſh and diſſeminate their own mythology.

(*c*) The Æthiopians, according to Pliny the elder, lib. vi. ſ. 29, were in remote ages a great and powerful people. They held Ægypt in ſubjection, and were the founders of an empire in Syria. Joſephus in his Jewiſh Antiquities has a tradition, that Moſes commanded armies in Æthiopia. Hence the Jews were ſaid to have iſſued from Æthiopia.

(*d*) We have in this paſſage ſomething that borders on the truth. Abraham went forth from the Ur of the Chaldees; Geneſis, xi. ver. 31. He went into Ægypt to ſojourn there, Geneſis, xii. ver. 10. The hiſtory of his poſterity in Ægypt, and the journey into Syria and the land of Canaan, clearly prove the deſcent of the Jews from Abraham, and throw a light upon what our author ſays of their Aſſyrian origin. Tacitus, however, not having inveſtigated the fact, gives the various opinions that were floating in the world, and leaves the truth to reſt on better authority.

(*e*) Homer was held in ſuch high veneration throughout Greece, that his verſes often decided the limits of diſputed lands, and threw a luſtre round every ſtate or people recorded in his poems.

Section III.

(a) Juſtin mentions this epidemic diſtemper, and calls it *ſcabiem ac vitiliginem*; that is, the leproſy. Juſtin, lib. xxxvi. ſ. 2. We now know that it was inflicted by God, who ſaid to Pharaoh, *Let my people go that they may ſerve me; and if thou refuſe to let them go, and wilt hold them ſtill, there ſhall be a very grievous murrain.* See Exodus, ix. ver. 1, 2, 3, and 10. That the paſſage through the Red Sea ſhould be omitted by Tacitus, Brotier obſerves, cannot be matter of wonder, ſince it is related even by Joſephus in a manner that adds no authenticity to the miracle.

(b) The oracle of Jupiter Hammon is mentioned by Pliny, lib. v. ſ. 9. *In Cyrenaicâ Hammonis oraculum, fidei inclitæ.* See alſo Pomponius Mela, lib. i. cap. 8.

(c) In the wide plains of Arabia.

(d) And they went three days in the Wilderneſs, and found no water. Exodus, xv. ver. 22.

(e) This diſcovery of ſprings in a ſhady grove calls to mind what Moſes tells us: *And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threeſcore and ten palm trees.* Exodus, xv. ver. 27. Where Tacitus found the romantic incident of the troop of wild aſſes, does not appear. The ſtory is amuſing, and probably was adopted in the narrative, to prepare the reader for the conſecration of that animal, as mentioned in the following ſection.

(f) Brotier obſerves, that a journey into Paleſtine, through the deſerts of Arabia, could not be performed in ſix days, as it appears, in the Memoirs of the French Miſſionaries in the Levant, tom. vii. p. 5, that father Sicard went over that whole tract of country, and did not reach Mount Sinai till the thirtieth day. Brotier adds, that in what Tacitus relates, ſomething like the truth is ſtill to be found, ſince we are told that Joſhua and the children of Iſrael went round the city of Jericho once, and continued ſo to do SIX DAYS, and on the SEVENTH DAY, which was the ſabbath, entered the city; and, having extirpated the inhabitants, became maſters of the country, where David built a city,

city, and Solomon dedicated a temple. See Joſhua, vi. ver. 3, 20, and 21.

Section IV.

(*a*) Moſes introduced a ſyſtem of religion very different from the polytheiſm and ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the Romans. Tacitus ſpeaks with marked diſapprobation, but the errors of prejudice have been long ſince refuted.

(*b*) Whatever was ſacred at Rome, was, beyond all doubt, profane at Jeruſalem. The Jews worſhipped one God, and, by conſequence, the Pagan mythology fell into contempt.

(*c*) The veneration here ſaid to have been paid in the Temple to the image of an aſs, is refuted by Tacitus himſelf, who ſays, in the following ſection, that the Jews ſuffered no conſecrated ſtatues or images to be erected either in their cities or their temples. *Nulla ſimulacra urbibus ſuis, nedum templis ſinunt.* He tells us afterwards, that when Pompey conquered Jeruſalem, and made his entry into the Temple, he found neither ſtatues nor images, but a void and empty tabernacle. *Nullâ intus deûm effigie, vacuam ſedem, et inania arcana.* See this book, ſ. 9.

(*d*) An ox or calf was worſhipped at Memphis as a god, under the name of Apis. See Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 20. The Jews, before they were inſtructed in the knowledge of the true God, were willing, in imitation of the Ægyptians, to worſhip a golden calf. Exodus, xxxii. ver. 4. But the ſacrifices in contempt of Jupiter Hammon, and the ſuperſtitious rites of Memphis, are not vouched by any good authority. Whoever killed an ox, or lamb, or goat, was ordered to bring it as an offering at the tabernacle. Leviticus, xvii.

(*e*) The leproſy, deſcribed in Leviticus, xiii. and xiv.

(*f*) There was ſcarce a month in the Jewiſh calendar without a number of faſt-days; but they were inſtituted to record ſignal events, not in commemoration of the famine in the deſert.

(*g*) The unleavened bread, mentioned Exodus, xii. 8. It was not, as Tacitus inſinuates, their common food; it was, as we read in

Deuteronomy, xvi. the *bread of affliction*, which they were to eat for ſeven days, in memory of the day when they came forth out of the land of Ægypt.

(*h*) The ſeventh day was a day of reſt, but not for the reaſon given by Tacitus: it was the ſabbath of the Lord; for in ſix days the Lord made heaven and earth, and reſted the ſeventh day; wherefore the Lord bleſſed the ſabbath day, and hallowed it. Exodus, xx. ver. 10, 11.

(*i*) The ſeventh year was alſo a year of reſt, not for the ſake of ſluggiſh inactivity, but in conſequence of an expreſs command: *Six years thou ſhalt ſow the field, and ſix years thou ſhalt prune thy vineyard; but the ſeventh year ſhall be a ſabbath of reſt unto the land, a ſabbath for the Lord.* Leviticus, xxv. ver. 3 and 4. There was ſtill another ſabbath of more importance: *The ſpace of ſeven ſabbaths of years ſhall be forty-nine years, and ye ſhall hallow the fiftieth year; for it is the jubilee, it ſhall be holy unto you.* Leviticus, xxv. ver. 8, 9, and 10. Joſephus ſays that Julius Cæſar, when he impoſed an annual tribute on the Jewiſh nation, made an exception of the ſeventh year, which was called the ſabbath, when the people neither reaped nor ſowed. See Cæſar's decree, Joſephus, Jewiſh Antiquities, xiv. cap. 10.

(*k*) It was natural enough that they, who deduced the origin of the Jews from the inhabitants of Mount Ida, ſhould conſider the ſabbath as an inſtitution in honour of Saturn; but that hypotheſis has been ſufficiently refuted in the two laſt notes.

(*l*) The orbit which Saturn deſcribes is at a greater diſtance from the ſun than any planet in the ſolar ſyſtem: but judicial aſtrology has been long conſidered as a vain exploded ſcience.

(*m*) Tacitus ſays that the life of man is governed by the revolutions of the ſeven planets: that doctrine was not only taught by the Ægyptian and Pythagorean philoſophy, but has been adopted by modern aſtrologers. Hence the calculation proceeding by a ſeries of ſeven years to the grand climacteric, at the age of ſixty-three. The Jews, however, had very different reaſons for their ſabbaths of years.

Section

Section V.

(*a*) The force of national prejudice was never more ſtrongly diſplayed. Tacitus thought nothing orthodox but the creed of his own country; and, in his eyes, the depravity of the Jews conſiſted in preferring the worſhip of one God to Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and the reſt of the monſtrous deities with which ſuperſtition had peopled heaven.

(*b*) The Jews were not entirely confined within the limits of Paleſtine; they went forth in queſt of gain, and ſettled in every quarter where trade and commerce flouriſhed. Wherever they fixed, they retained their own principles, and deſpiſed the eſtabliſhed religion of the place. This is called *adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium.* Not being able to attend the tabernacle with their offerings, they collected among themſelves a conſiderable treaſure, and ſent it as an annual tribute to the Temple of Jeruſalem. Hence the immenſe heaps of gold and ſilver that fell into the hands of the Romans; and hence the Jews were ſaid to love one another, and to hate the reſt of mankind.

(*c*) It is not neceſſary to cite from Deuteronomy the laws againſt adultery, and the virgins of Iſrael that ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced. Tacitus transfers the guilt of individuals to the whole nation.

(*d*) Circumciſion is called a token of the covenant. Geneſis, xvii. ver. 2. This ſhews that it was not derived from the Ægyptians, according to the notion entertained by ſome of the learned.

(*e*) The Romans had power of life and death over their own children, and were not willing to be encumbered with a numerous iſſue.

(*f*) It is certain that the Hebrews interred their dead, ſince Abraham's burying-place is frequently mentioned in ſcripture. That the Ægyptians buried their dead, is plain from their uſage of embalming them. It is probable that the practice of burning the bodies of the deceaſed ſprung originally from a deſign to prevent any outrage to the bodies from their enemies. Sylla, among the Romans, was the firſt of his family who ordered his body to be burnt, leſt the barbarities which he had exerciſed on the remains of Marius ſhould be retaliated on his own. Cicero ſays, *Proculdubio cremandi ritus a Græcis venit, nam ſepultum*

legimus Numam ad Anienis fontem, totique genti Corneliæ ſolemne fuiſſe ſepulchrum uſque ad Syllam, qui primus ex eâ gente crematus eſt. Tully De Legibus, lib. 2.

(g) The Ægyptians believed in a ſtate of future rewards and puniſhments. See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. ſ. 51.

(h) The Jews believed in one God; the Ægyptians were polytheiſts, and even worſhipped brute animals; *Omnigenumque deûm monſtra.*

(i) We have here a ſublime idea of one great, ſupreme, and governing Mind; of one omnipotent, eternal God. It is aſtoniſhing that Tacitus did not pauſe in deep reflection upon what he could ſo well deſcribe.

(k) No mention is made in any part of the Bible of Jewiſh prieſts crowned with ivy. A vine, wrought in gold, of prodigious weight, is mentioned by Joſephus as a magnificent ornament. See Jewiſh Antiquities, book xv. chap. 11.

(l) The Roman *dies feſtus* ſignified a day conſecrated to joy, and ſong, and dance, and public ſpectacles. It was otherwiſe with the Jews. At ſtated periods they commemorated public misfortunes; and grief, and faſting, ſackloth and aſhes diſtinguiſhed their religious ceremonies, wholly different from the rites of Bacchus, and therefore called abſurd and ſordid. Tacitus, it muſt be ſaid, has given us an unfavourable picture of the Jews. Voltaire has painted them in harſher colours; but he concludes that they ought to be exempted from the fires of the Inquiſition: *Il ne faut pas pourtant les bruler.*

Section VI.

(a) Arabia extended from Ægypt to Chaldæa, and from the Euphrates, which waſhes Syria, to the Arabian gulf. It is divided into three parts, viz. *Arabia Felix*, *Petræa*, and *Deſerta.*

(b) The ſnow of *Lebanon* is mentioned, Jeremiah, xviii. ver. 14.

(c) Now the *Jourdain.* See an elegant deſcription of this river, Pliny, lib. v. ſ. 15.

(d) The firſt of the lakes is Samachonites, mentioned by Joſephus; the ſecond Cinnereth, by Joſhua; the third Aſphaltus, called by Milton

ton the Aſphaltic Pool, by others Mare Mortuum, from the immobility of its waters. It is ſaid by Joſephus to be ſeventy miles in length, and in ſome places twelve or thirteen in breadth.

(*e*) All travellers agree in ſtating the noxious taſte and ſmell of the Aſphaltic Lake. See Pococke, Deſcription of the Eaſt, tom. ii. p. 37, where we alſo read that the water, impregnated with ſalt and ſulphur, or *bitumen*, weighs much more than freſh water, and conſequently lets nothing ſink. Pliny ſays of this lake, *Aſphaltites nihil præter bitumen, gignit; unde nomen: Tauri camelique fluitant. Inde fama nihil in eo mergi.* Pliny, lib. v. ſ. 16. It is related by Joſephus, that Veſpaſian, in order to make an experiment, ordered ſome priſoners, with their hands tied behind their backs, to be thrown into the lake, when they all emerged and floated on the ſurface. See Joſephus, Bell. Jud. lib. iv. ver. 8.

(*f*) Brotier ſays, upon the authority of an eminent traveller in the eaſt, that the ſlime, or *bitumen*, by the Greeks called *aſphalte*, is thrown up on the ſurface of the waters during the autumn, probably from the places mentioned in the Bible. *The vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea, was full of ſlime-pits.* Geneſis, xiv. ver. 3 and 10. And this concretion, after floating for ſome time, is driven by the wind to the ſhore, where it is carefully collected by the Arabs for their own uſe and profit, after delivering a certain proportion to the Baſſa of Jeruſalem.

Section VII.

(*a*) The cities were *Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim.* Geneſis, xiv. ver. 2. *The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimſtone and fire, and he overthrew thoſe cities, and all the plain.* Geneſis, xix. ver. 24 and 25.

(*b*) Belus, a river of Galilee, running from the foot of Mount Carmel, and emptying itſelf into the Mediterranean. Strabo ſays that the whole coaſt has a ſand fit for glaſs, but that the ſand of the river Belus is the beſt ſort. Here the art of making glaſs was firſt diſcovered. See Pliny, lib. v. ſ. 19.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Juſtin informs us that the power of Demetrius I. and his ſucceſſors, kings of Syria, not being ſupported with vigour, the Jews took

took their opportunity to ſhake off a foreign yoke, and aſſert their liberty. See Juſtin, lib. xxxvi. ver. 1 and 3. In confirmation of this, we read in Maccabees a treaty between Demetrius and Simon the high prieſt, A. U. C. 611; before Chriſt 143: and thus *the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Iſrael, and the people of Iſrael began to write in their inſtruments and contracts, In the firſt year of Simon the high prieſt, the governor and leader of the Jews.* 1 Maccabees, xiii. ver. 41 and 42.

Section IX.

(a) Pompey made himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem, A. U. C. 691; before Chriſt 63. He entered the Temple and the Holy of Holies; but, according to Joſephus, Jewiſh Antiquities, xiv. ver. 4, abſtained from plunder, content with impoſing an annual tribute. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 5; and Cicero, *pro Flacco*, f. 28.

(b) This paſſage affords another proof that the effigy of an aſs was not conſecrated in the temple, as mentioned by Tacitus. This book, f. 4.

(c) Brotier obſerves that Pacorus was ſon of Orodes, king of Parthia, and therefore thinks it probable that Tacitus wrote *F. R. Parthorum Pacorus*, that is, *Filius Regis Parthorum Pacorus.* He was ſent by his father ORODES to wage war in Judæa, A. U. C. 714; and in the following year defeated and put to death by Ventidius, the favourite general of Marc Antony. Joſephus, Jewiſh Antiquities, xiv. ver. 13, 14, and 15.

(d) Herod was raiſed to the throne by Marc Antony, A. U. C. 714, and his title was confirmed by a decree of the ſenate, A. U. C. 717. Joſephus, Jewiſh Antiquities, xiv. ver. 26 and 28.

(e) The Simon mentioned in this place, muſt not be confounded with the chief of that name, who was taken priſoner at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and afterwards executed at Rome. See Appendix to Hiſt. v. f. 20.

(f) Caligula had the frantic ambition to have his ſtatue placed in the Temple of Jeruſalem; but the Jews had recourſe to arms: another proof

proof of their reſolution not to ſuffer the tabernacle to be profaned by images of any kind. See Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 4.

(*g*) See Annals, xii. ſ. 23.

(*h*) Felix was brother to Pallas, the favourite freedman and miniſter of the emperor Claudius. Annals, xii. ſ. 54. Suetonius, in Claud. ſ. 28.

(*i*) Claudius was ſon of Antonia, the daughter of Marc Antony. See the Genealogical Table, No. 100.

Section X.

(*a*) The Jewiſh war, occaſioned by the miſconduct of Caſſius Florus, began A. U. C. 818; of Chriſt 65. See Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 4.

(*b*) For more of Ceſtius Gallus, ſee Appendix to Hiſt. v. ſ. 4.

(*c*) Veſpaſian's rapid ſucceſs againſt the Jews was A. U. C. 820 and 821.

(*d*) See Joſephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 2. Titus's firſt camp was near the Mount of Olives. See D'Anville's plan.

Section XI.

(*a*) See Appendix to this book, ſ. 5.

(*b*) See Appendix, ſ. 5; and D'Anville's plan.

Section XII.

(*a*) For a deſcription of the Temple, ſee Joſephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 5; and Appendix to this book, ſ. 5.

(*b*) Pompey had deſtroyed the outward walls of Jeruſalem, as mentioned in this book, ſ. 9. The fortifications we find were made ſtronger than ever. See Joſephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 4.

(*c*) For the ſeveral conquered cities, ſee Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 10.

(*d*) The factions that diſtracted the city of Jeruſalem, attacked one another with a degree of animoſity more inveterate than they ever ſhewed in battle with the Romans.

(*e*) See Joſephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 6.

Section

Section XIII.

(a) When the Romans heard of a monſtrous birth, or were told that a cow ſpoke, their prieſts employed ſuperſtitious rites and ſacrifices to avert impending danger. The Jews were not ſo eaſily alarmed; but however inclined they had formerly been to propitiate Heaven by prayer and ſacrifice, their final doom was drawing nigh, as foretold by Chriſt. St. Matthew, xxiv; St. Mark, xiii; St. Luke, xxi.

(b) For theſe prodigies, ſee Joſephus, Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 5; and ſee Appendix to this book, ſ. 6.

(c) Tacitus condemns the Jews for not rightly underſtanding a prophecy, which he himſelf has miſapplied. But it is evident that it could not relate to the ſhort reign of Veſpaſian and his two ſons. The Chriſtian religion was at that time ſtriking root in Judæa, and we know it has been ſince extended over the world. We cannot, however, wonder at the miſconception of Tacitus, when it is conſidered that Joſephus, willing, perhaps, to pay his court to the imperial family, did not heſitate to ſay that the prophecy related to Veſpaſian. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 5.

(d) Joſephus ſays that eleven hundred thouſand periſhed during the ſiege. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 9.

Section XIV.

(a) For Vetera Caſtra, ſee the Geographical Table. Civilis had made himſelf maſter of the place; Hiſt. iv. ſ. 60.

Section XVII.

(a) See the Manners of the Germans, ſ. 11.

Section XIX.

(a) Annius Gallus has been mentioned, Hiſt. iv. ſ. 68.

(b) Thoſe towns lay between the *Meuſe* (*Moſa*) and the *Rhine*, ſuppoſed to be *Gennep*, *Cleves*, and *Nimeguen*.

(c) For the bank raiſed by Druſus, ſee Annals, xiii. ſ. 53.

(d) We have ſeen a ſenate and magiſtrates among the Friſians, Annals, xi. ſ. 19.

Section

Section XX.

(*a*) For Arenacum and Batavodurum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Grinnes and Vada: ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

(*a*) See Hiſt. iv. ſ. 70.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Luppia, now the *Lippe*. See the Geographical Table. For Veleda, ſee Hiſt. iv. ſ. 61.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) For the mouth of the *Meuſe*, ſee Annals, ii. ſ. 6.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) Nabalia, the channel made by Druſus: ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Letters from Antonius, exciting Civilis to a war, in order to hinder the legions on the Rhine from marching to ſupport Vitellius in Italy. See Hiſt. iv. ſ. 13.

(*c*) The reſt of the Hiſtory is loſt, and with it the ſiege of Jeruſalem, with the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian.

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

FIVE BOOKS OF THE HISTORY.

NOTES

ON

THE APPENDIX.

Section II.

(*a*) SEE Joſephus, Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

Section III.

(*a*) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 10.

(*b*) Hiſt. v. ſ. 1.

Section IV.

(*a*) Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 10.

Section V.

(*a*) Hiſt. v. ſ. 11.

(*b*) Fenton's tragedy, entitled Herod and Mariamne, is known to every reader of taſte.

(*c*) Tacitus ſays, *Templum in modum arcis*; this book, ſ. 12.

Section VI.

(*a*) Joſephus gives the ſame account.

Section VII.

(*a*) *When you ſhall ſee Jeruſalem compaſſed with armies, then know that the deſolation thereof is nigh: then let them which are in Judæa flee to the*

the mountains; and let them which are in the midſt of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter therein. St. Luke, xxi. ver. 20 and 21.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Hiſt. i. ſ. 1.

Section XI.

(*a*) See Hiſt. v. ſ. 12. *Miſſis, per ſpeciem ſacrificandi, qui Eleagarum manumque ejus obtruncarent.*

Section XVI.

(*a*) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 10.

(*b*) See Hiſt. v. ſ. 13; and note (*c*).

Section XVII.

(*a*) *Verily I ſay unto you, there ſhall not be left here one ſtone upon another, that ſhall not be thrown down.* St. Matthew, xxiv. ver. 2.

Section XIX.

(*a*) In the tribe of flatterers that gathered round the emperor, the moſt officious was Phebus, Nero's freedman, who hoped by adulation to expiate the inſolence of his behaviour on a former occaſion, when Veſpaſian had been guilty of the crime of falling aſleep while Nero ſung. Veſpaſian aſked the freedman what he ſhould do to appeaſe Nero's indignation. "*Go, and hang yourſelf,*" replied Phebus. This man in confuſion threw himſelf at the feet of the new prince: Veſpaſian, with a ſmile, repeated, "*Go, and hang yourſelf,*" and, content with that reproach, left the ſycophant to himſelf.

Section XXI.

(*a*) Saleius Baſſus, a poet of eminence, received a conſiderable preſent from Veſpaſian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 9.

(*b*) See Suetonius in Veſpaſ. ſ. 3.

(*c*) The loves of Titus and Berenice, though not the beſt choſen ſubject for dramatic fable, became, in the laſt century, the favourite exhibition of the French ſtage. Corneille and Racine, the two great

poets of that country, entered the lists, and, like the bards of Greece at the Olympic games, contended with each other for the laurel crown. It happened that a princess of France, sister to Louis XIV. requested a play on the subject of Titus and Berenice from the pen of Racine. The poet complied; and while he was at work, Corneille received the like solicitation from Henrietta of England, Duchess of Orleans. The two plays were acted in 1670, at different theatres. That of Corneille had no success; Racine's had a run of thirty nights. Fontenelle observed upon the occasion, that it was a *combat* between two eminent men, and the youngest gained the victory.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Suetonius relates the fact, in Vesp.

(*b*) Tacitus says of Agricola, *Non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse.* See the whole passage, Life of Agricola, s. 42.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Tacitus mentions the escape of Julius Sabinus from the field of battle, where his countrymen, the Lingones, suffered a dreadful slaughter; and the historian promises, in proper time and place, to relate how he lay concealed in dens and caverns for nine years afterwards, supported, during the whole time, by the fidelity and unaltered affection of his wife EPONINA. See Hist. iv. s. 67. The defeat of Sabinus was A. U. C. 823. He and his wife were put to death at Rome, A. U. C. 831; but unfortunately that part of our author's work has not survived the injury of time.

(*b*) For this fragment of history, see Plutarch's AMATORIUS, or the Lover.

(*c*) Tacitus says, *Quid si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitiâ principis interciderunt?* See Life of Agricola, s. 3.

END OF NOTES ON THE APPENDIX.

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

OR,

INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PLACES

THAT OCCUR IN THIS VOLUME.

A.

ACHAIA, a part of Peloponnesus; but in Tacitus generally all Greece.

ACTIUM, a promontory of Epirus, famous for the victory of Augustus over Marc Antony.

ADDUA, a river rising in the country of the *Grisons*, and in its course separating Milan from the territory of the Venetians, till it falls into the Po, about six miles to the west of Cremona. It is now called the *Adda*.

ADRUMETUM, a Phœnician colony in Africa, about seventeen miles from Leptis Minor.

AFRICA generally means in Tacitus that part which was made a Roman province, of which Carthage was the capital; now the territory of *Tunis*.

AGRIPPINENSIS COLONIA, so called from Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, mother of Nero, and afterwards wife of the emperor Claudius. The place is now called *Cologne*, situate on the Rhine.

ALBIUM INTEMELIUM; now *Vintimiglia*, south-west of the territory of Genoa, with a port on the Mediterranean, between *Monaco* and *S. Remo*.

ALBINGANUM; now *Albinga*, to the west of the territory of Genoa, at the mouth of the river *Cente*.

ALLIA, a river of Italy, running into the Tiber, about forty miles from Rome; famous for the slaughter of the Romans by the Gauls, under Brennus.

ALEXANDRIA, a principal city of Ægypt, built by Alexander the Great, on the Mediterranean; famous for the library begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and consisting at last of seven hundred thousand volumes, till in Cæsar's expedition it was destroyed by fire.

ALLOBROGES, a people of Narbon Gaul, situate between the Rhodanus and the Lacus Lemanus.

ALPES, a range of high mountains separating Italy from Gaul and Germany. They are distinguished into different parts, under several names, such as, the *Maritime Alps*, near Genoa; the *Cottian Alps*, separating Dauphiné from Piedmont; the *Graian Alps*, beginning from Mount Cenis, where the *Cottian* terminate, and extending to Great St. Bernard; the *Pennine Alps*, extending from west to east to the *Rhetian Alps*, the *Alpes Noricæ*, and the *Pannonian Alps*, as far as the springs of the *Kulpe*. Their height in some places is almost incredible. They are called *Alpes*, from *Alpen*, a Celtic term for high mountains.

ALTINUM, a town in the territory of Venice, on the Adriatic; now in ruins, except a tower, still retaining the name of *Altino*.

ANAGNIA, a town of ancient Latium; now *Anagni*, thirty-six miles to the east of Rome.

ANTIOCHIA, the capital of Syria, called *Epidaphne*, to distinguish it from other cities of the name of Antioch. It is now called *Antakia*.

ANTIPOLIS, now *Antibes*, on the coast of

of Provence, about three leagues to the weſt of *Nice*.

APENNINUS, now the *Apennine*, a ridge of mountains running through the middle of Italy, extremely high, yet ſhort of the *Alps*. Its name is Celtic, ſignifying a high mountain.

AQUILEIA, a large city of the Veneti, and formerly a Roman colony, near the river *Natiſo*, which runs into the gulf of Venice.

AQUITANIA, a diviſion of Ancient Gaul, bounded by the *Garumna* (now *Garonne*), by the Pyrenees, and the ocean.

AQUINUM, a town of the Ancient Latins; now *Aquino*, but almoſt in ruins.

ARABIA, an extenſive country of Aſia, reaching from Ægypt to Chaldea. It is divided into three parts, *Arabia Petræa*, *Deſerta*, and *Felix*.

ARENACUM, an ancient town in the iſland of Batavia; now *Arnheim*, in Guelderland.

ARICIA, a town of Latium in Italy, at the foot of Mons Albanus, about a hundred and ſixty ſtadia from Rome. The grove, called *Aricinum Nemus*, was in the vicinity.

ARIMINUM, a town of Umbria, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice.

ARMENIA, a kingdom of Aſia, having Albania and Iberia to the north, Mount Taurus and Meſopotamia to the ſouth, Media on the eaſt, and the Euphrates to the weſt.

ARVERNI, a people of Ancient Gaul, inhabiting near the Loire: their chief city *Arvernum;* now *Clermont*, the capital of *Auvergne*.

ASCIBURGIUM, a citadel on the Rhine, where the Romans ſtationed a camp and a garriſon.

ATESTE, a town in the territory of Venice, ſituate to the ſouth of Patavium.

ATRIA, a town of the Veneti, on the river Tartarus, between the Padus and the Athefis, now the *Adige*.

AUGUSTA TAURINORUM, a town of the Taurini, at the foot o fthe Alps; now *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont*.

AURIA, an ancient town of Spain; now *Orenſe*, in Galicia.

AVENTICUM, the capital of the Helvetii; by the Germans called *Wiſſiſturg*, by the French *Avenches*.

B.

BATAVIA, an iſland formed by two branches of the Rhine and the German Sea. See Annals, ii. f. 6; and the Manners of the Germans, f. 29, note (*a*).

BATAVODURUM, a town in the iſland of Batavia; now, as ſome of the commentators ſay, *Wyk-te-Duurſtede*.

BEBRYACUM, or BEDRYACUM, a village ſituate between Verona and Cremona; famous for two ſucceſſive defeats; that of Otho, and ſoon after that of Vitellius.

BERYTUS, now *Barut*, in Phœnicia.

BETASII, the people inhabiting the country now called *Brabant*.

BOETICA, one of the provinces into which Auguſtus Cæſar divided the Farther Spain.

BOII, a people of Celtic Gaul, in the country now called *Bourbonnois*. There was alſo a nation of the ſame name in Germany. See Manners of the Germans, f. 28.

BONNA, now *Bonn*, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

BONONIA, a town of Italy; now *Bologne*, capital of the *Bologneſe*.

BOVILLÆ, a town of Latium, near Mount Albanus, about ten miles from Rome, on the Appian road.

BRIGANTES, the ancient inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Cumberland*.

BRIXIA, a town of Italy, on this ſide of the Po; now *Breſcia*.

BRIXELLUM, the town where Otho diſpatched himſelf after the defeat at *Bedriacum;* now *Breſello*, in the territory of *Reggio*.

BRUCTERI, a people of Germany. See the Manners of the Germans, f. 33.

BRUNDUSIUM, a town of Calabria, with an excellent harbour at the entrance of the Adriatic, affording a convenient paſſage to Greece.

BYZANTIUM, a city of Thrace; now *Conſtantinople*.

C.

CALABRIA, a peninſula of Italy, between Tarentum and Brunduſium.

CAMPANIA, a territory in Italy, bounded on the weſt by the Tuſcan Sea; a moſt fruitful country; now *Terra di Lavoro*.

CANINEFATES, a people inhabiting part of the iſland of Batavia.

CAPPADOCIA, an extenſive country in Aſia Minor, upon the Euxine Sea.

CAPUA,

CAPUA, now *Capoa*, a city in the kingdom of Naples; the ſeat of pleaſure, and the ruin of Hannibal.

CARTHAGO, a city in Africa, the well-known rival of Rome, ſuppoſed to be built by Dido ſeventy years after the foundation of Rome. *Carthago Nova* was a town of *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, or the Hither Spain; now *Carthagena*.

CARMEL, a mountain in Galilee, on the Mediterranean.

CARSULÆ, a town of Umbria, about twenty miles from Mevania; now in ruins.

CASPIUM MARE, from north to ſouth eight days ſail, and from eaſt to weſt no leſs than fourteen, as found on a ſurvey by the *Czar*, Peter the Great.

CATTI, inhabitants of what is now called *Heſſe*, in Germany.

CÆRACATES, probably the dioceſe of *Mayence*.

CÆSAREA, a maritime town in Paleſtine; now *Kaiſarie*.

CHAUCI, a people of Germany, inhabiting what we now call *Eaſt Friſeland*, *Bremen*, and *Lunenburg*. See Manners of the Germans, ſ. 35.

COMMAGENE, a diſtrict of Syria, bounded on the eaſt by the Euphrates, and towards the north by Mount Taurus.

CORSICA, an iſland in the part of the Mediterranean called the Sea of Liguria, in length from north to ſouth about an hundred and fifty miles, and about fifty where broadeſt. To the ſouth it is ſeparated from Sardinia by a narrow channel.

CORINTHUS, a city of Achaia, on the ſouth part of the Iſthmus which joins Peloponneſus to the Continent. From its ſituation between two ſeas, Horace ſays,

Bimariſve Corinthi mœnia.

The city was taken and burnt to the ground by Mummius the Roman general, A. U. C. 608. It was afterwards reſtored to its ancient ſplendour, and made a Roman colony. It retains the name of *Corinth*.

CREMERA, a river of Tuſcany, falling into the Tiber, a little to the north of Rome, rendered famous by the ſlaughter of the Fabii.

CREMONA, a city of Italy, built A. U. C. 536, and afterwards, in the year 822, raſed to the ground by the army of Veſpaſian, in the war with Vitellius. It was ſoon rebuilt by the citizens, with the exhortations of Veſpaſian. It is now a flouriſhing city in the duchy of Milan, and retains the name of Cremona.

CYPRUS, a noble iſland oppoſite to the coaſt of Syria, formerly ſacred to Venus, whence ſhe was called the Cyprian goddeſs.

CYRENE, the capital of Cyrenaica, a diſtrict of Africa. It ſtood about eleven miles from the ſea, and had an excellent harbour.

CYTHNUS, one of the iſlands called the Cyclades, in the Ægean Sea.

D.

DACIA, a country extending between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains to the mouth of the Danube, and to the Euxine, compriſing a part of Upper Hungary, Tranſylvania, and Moldavia. The inhabitants to the weſt, towards Germany, were called *Daci*; thoſe to the eaſt towards the Euxine were called *Getæ*. The whole country was reduced by Trajan to a Roman province.

DALMATIA, an extenſive country bordering on Macedonia and Mæſia, with the Adriatic to the ſouth.

DANUBIUS, now the *Danube*, the largeſt river in Europe, riſing in Suabia, and after a vaſt circuit falling into the Euxine, or the Black Sea.

DERMONA, a river of Gallia Tranſpadana; it runs into the Ollius (now *Oglio*), and through that channel into the Po.

DIVODURUM, a town in Gallia Belgica, ſituate on the Moſelle, on the ſpot where *Metz* now ſtands.

DYRRACHIUM, a town on the coaſt of Illyricum. Its port anſwered to that of Brunduſium, affording a convenient paſſage to Italy.

E.

ELEUSIS, a diſtrict of Attica near the ſea-coaſt, ſacred to Ceres, where the Eleuſinian myſteries were performed; now in ruins.

EMERITA, a city of Spain; now *Merida* in the province of *Eſtramadoura*.

EPOREDIA, a town at the foot of the Alps, afterwards a Roman colony; now *Jurea*, or *Jura*, a city of Piedmont.

ETRURIA, a diſtrict of Italy, extending from the boundary of Liguria to the Tiber.

ÆDUI, a people of Gallia Celtica, ſuppoſed to have occupied the dukedom of Burgundy.

ÆNUS, a river riſing in the country of the *Griſons*, and running thence into the Danube.

F.

FERENTINUM, a town of Latium, in Italy; now *Ferentino*, in the Campania of Rome.

FERONIA, a town in Etruria.

FIDENÆ, a town of the Sabines, five miles to the north of Rome.

FOROJULIUM, a city of Narbon Gaul.

FORUM ALLIENI, now *Ferrare*, on the Po.

FRISII, a people of Germany, who inhabited the ſea-coaſt between the Rhine and the Amiſia (the *Ems*).

G.

GALATIA, a country between *Phrygia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*; and, becauſe ſituate between Greek colonies, called *Gallogræcia*.

GARAMANTES, a people in the interior part of Africa, extending over a large tract of country, at preſent little known.

GELDUBA, not far from Noveſium (now *Nuys*, in the electorate of Cologne) on the weſt ſide of the Rhine.

GEMONIÆ, a place at Rome, into which were thrown the bodies of malefactors.

GERMANIA, Ancient Germany, bounded on the eaſt by the Viſtula (the *Weiſſel*), on the north by the Ocean, on the weſt by the Rhine, and on the ſouth by the Danube. A great part of Gaul, along the weſt ſide of the Rhine, was alſo called Germany by Auguſtus Cæſar, *Germania Ciſrhenana*, and by him diſtinguiſhed into *Upper* and *Lower Germany*.

GRAIAN ALPS, Graiæ Alpes, ſuppoſed to be ſo called from the Greeks who ſettled there. See ALPES.

GRINNES, a town of the Batavi, on the right ſide of the Vahalis (now the *Waal*), in the territory of Utrecht.

GUGERNI, a people originally from Germany, inhabiting part of the duchy of Cleves and Gueldre, between the Rhine and the Meuſe.

H.

HELVETII, a people in the neighbourhood of the Allobroges, ſituate on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the Rhine, and ſeparated from Gaul by the Rhodanus and Lacus Lemanus.

HÆMUS MONS, extending from Illyricum towards the Euxine.

HISPALIS, a town of Bœtica in the Farther Spain; now *Seville* in *Andaluſia*.

HOSTILIA, a village on the Po; now *Oſtiglia*, in the neighbourhood of Cremona.

I.

JAZYGES, a people of Sarmatia Europæa, ſituate on the Palus Mæotis.

ILLYRICUM, the country between Pannonia to the north, and the Adriatic to the ſouth. It is now compriſed by *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, under the reſpective dominion of the Venetians and the Turks.

INTEMELIUM. See ALBIUM INTEMELIUM

INTERAMNA, an ancient town of the Volſci in Latium, not far from the river Liris. It is now in ruins.

ISTRIA, an iſland in the gulf of Venice, ſtill retaining its ancient name. There was alſo a town of the ſame name near the mouth of the Iſter, on the Euxine Sea.

L.

LACUS LEMANUS, now the *Lake of Geneva*.

LEPTIS. There were in Africa two cities of the name; *Leptis Magna*, and *Leptis Parva*. The firſt is now called *Lebeda*, in the territory of Tripoli; the ſecond was on the Mediterranean, not far from Carthage.

LEUCI, a people of Gallia Belgica, to the north of the Lingones, between the Moſelle and the Meuſe.

LIGURIA, a country of Italy, divided into the maritime, *Ligus Ora*; and the inland, *Liguria*; both between the Apennine to the ſouth, the Maritime Alps to the weſt, and the Po to the north.

LIGERIS; now the *Loire*.

LINGONES, a people of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting the country about *Langres* and *Dijon*.

LUGDUNUM BATAVORUM, a town of the Batavi; now *Leyden* in Holland. There was another town of the name in Gallia Celtica, at the confluence of the Arar (the *Soane*) and the Rhodanus (the *Rhone*). The place is now called Lyons.

LUPPIA,

LUPPIA, now the *Lippe*, in Weſtphalia.

M.

MAGONTIACUM, a town of Gallia Belgica; now *Mentz*, ſituate at the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine.

MARCODURUM, a village of Gallia Belgica; now *Duren* on the *Roer*.

MARITIMÆ ALPES. See ALPES.

MARSACI, a people in the north of Batavia, inhabiting the ſea-coaſt.

MARSI, a people of Italy, who dwelt round the Lacus Fucinus. Another people called Marſi, in Germany, to the ſouth of the Friſii.

MASSILLIA, a town of Gallia Narbonenſis, formerly celebrated for poliſhed manners and learning; now *Marſeilles*, a port town of Provence.

MATTIACI, a branch of the Catti in Germany. Their town *Mattiacum*, now *Marpurg* in Heſſe.

MAURITANIA, a large region of Africa, extending from eaſt to weſt along the Mediterranean, divided by the emperor Claudius into *Cæſarienſis*, the eaſtern part, and *Tingitana*, the weſtern, bounded by the Atlantic ocean, the ſtraits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean to the north.

MÆSIA, now *Bulgaria* and part of *Servia*.

MEDIOLANUM, now *Milan* in Italy.

MEDIOMATRICI, a people of Gallia Belgica; now the dioceſe of *Metz*.

MEMPHIS, a city of Ægypt, famous for its pyramids.

MENAPII, a people of Belgia; now *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

MEVANIA, a town of Umbria, near the Clitumnus, a river that runs from eaſt to weſt into the Tiber.

MINTURNÆ, a town on the confines of Campania, near the river Liris.

MILVIUS PONS, a bridge over the Tiber, two miles diſtant from Rome, on the *Via Flaminia*; now called *Ponte Molle*.

MISENUM, a promontory of Campania, with a good harbour.

MONÆCI PORTUS, now *Monaco*, a port town in the territory of *Genoa*.

MORINI, a people of Belgia, inhabiting the dioceſe of *Tournay*, and the country about *St. Omer* and *Boulogne*.

MUTINA, now *Modena*, a city of Lombardy, in Italy.

N.

NABALIA, the name of the channel made by Druſus from the Rhine to the river Sala; now the *Yſſel*. See Annals, ii. f. 8.

NARBONENSIS GALLIA, the ſouthern part of Gaul, bounded by the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenees.

NARNIA, a town of Umbria, on the river *Nar*; now *Narni*, in the territory of the Pope.

NAVA, a river of Gallia Belgica, which runs north-eaſt into the weſt ſide of the Rhine; now the *Nahe*.

NORICUM, a Roman province, bounded by the Danube on the north, by the Alpes Noricæ on the ſouth, by Pannonia on the eaſt, and Vindelicia towards the weſt. It now includes a great part of Auſtria, Bavaria, &c.

NAVARIA, now *Novara*, a city of Milan.

NOVESIUM, a town of the Ubii in Gallia Belgica; now *Nuys*, on the weſt ſide of the Rhine, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

O.

OCRICULUM, a town of Umbria, near the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber; now *Otricoli*, in the duchy of *Spoletto*.

OEENSES, a people of Africa, who occupied the country between the two Syrtes on the Mediterranean. Their city was called *Oea*, now *Tripoli*.

OPITERGIUM, now *Oderzo*, in the territory of Venice.

OSTIA, formerly a town of note, at the mouth of the Tiber, whence its name; at this day it lies in ruins.

P.

PADUS, anciently called *Eridanus* by the Greeks, famous for the fable of Phaeton; it receives ſeveral rivers from the Alps and Apennine, and, running from weſt to eaſt, diſcharges itſelf into the Adriatic. It is now called the Po.

PAMPHYLIA, a country of the Hither Aſia, bordering on the Mediterranean.

PANNONIA, an extenſive country of Europe, bounded by Dalmatia on the ſouth, by the Danube on the north, by Noricum on the weſt, and Mæſia on the eaſt.

PANNONIAN ALPS. See ALPES.

PAPHOS, a town on the ſea-ſide in the iſle of Cyprus, where ſtood a temple de-

dicated to Venus, thence called the *Paphian Goddeſs*.

PATAVIUM, now *Padua*, in the territory of Venice.

PELIGNI, a people of Samaium, near Naples.

PETOVIO, a town of Pannonia, near the Alps.

PENNINÆ ALPES. See ALPES.

PERUSIA, a city of Etruria, where Lucius Antonius was beſieged, and reduced by famine to ſurrender to Auguſtus Cæſar. *Peruſina fames*, Lucan. It is now called *Perugia*, in the territory of the Pope.

PHARSALIA, a town in Theſſaly, rendered famous by the laſt battle between Pompey and Julius Cæſar.

PHILIPPI, a town of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace, built by Philip of Macedon, and famous for the battle fought between Auguſtus and the republican party.

PICENTIA, the capital of the *Picentini* on the Tuſcan Sea, not far from Naples.

PICENUM, a territory of Italy, between the *Apennine* and the *Adriatic*.

PISÆ, a town of Etruria, which gave name to the bay of Piſa, *Sinus Piſanus*.

PLACENTIA, a town in Italy, now called *Placenza*, in the duchy of Parma.

PONTUS, an extenſive country of the Hither Aſia, taking its name from *Pontus Euxinus*, and rendered famous by *Mithridates*, and his wars with the Romans.

PUTEOLI, a town of Campania, ſo called from its number of wells; now *Pozzuolo*, a few miles to the weſt of Naples.

R.

RAVENNA, a city of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, with a port on the Adriatic; a ſtation for the Roman fleet in the time of Auguſtus. It is ſtill called *Ravenna*.

REGIUM, now *Reggio*, a city in Calabria.

REMI, now *Rheims*, in Champagne.

RHACOTIS, the ancient name of Alexandria in Ægypt.

RHÆTIA, a country bordering on the Vindelici, at the foot of the Rhætian Alps.

RHODUS, a celebrated iſland in the Mediterranean.

RHOXOLANI, a people on the north of the *Palus Mæotis*, ſituate along the Tanais, now the *Don*.

RIGODULUM, a town of the Treviri on the Moſelle.

S.

SAMNIS, or SAMNITES, a people extending on both ſides of the Apennine, famous in the Roman wars.

SARMATIA, called alſo *Scythia*, and divided into *Europæa* and *Aſiatica*; the former beginning at the Viſtula (its weſtern boundary), and the latter bounded on the weſt by Sarmatia Europæa and the Tanais (the *Don*), extending ſouth as far as Mount Caucaſus, and the Caſpian Sea.

SARDINIA, an iſland in the Mediterranean, now belonging to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king.

SAXA RUBRA, a place on the Flamminian road in Etruria, nine miles from Rome.

SELEUCIA, a city of Meſopotamia.

SENENSIS COLONIA, now *Sienna*, in Tuſcany.

SEQUANI, a people of Celtic Gaul, who inhabited what is now called *Franche Comté*.

SINOPE, one of the moſt famous cities in the territory of Pontus. It was taken by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and afterwards received Roman colonies. It was the birth-place of Diogenes, the cynic, who was baniſhed from his country. The place is ſtill called *Sinope*, a port town of Aſiatic Turkey, on the Euxine.

SINUESSA, a town of Latium, on the confines of Campania, beyond the river Liris (now called *Garigliano*). The place was much frequented for the ſalubrity of its waters.

STÆCHADES, five iſlands, now called the *Hieres*, on the coaſt of Provence.

SUNICI, a people removed from Germany to Gallia Belgica. According to Cluverius, they inhabited the duchy of *Limburg*.

SUEVI, a great and warlike people of Ancient Germany, who occupied a vaſt tract of country. See the Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxxviii. note (*a*).

SYRIA, a country of the Hither Aſia, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. Paleſtine was deemed part of Syria.

T.

TARRACINA, a city of the Volſci in Latium, near the mouth of the *Ufens*, in the Campania of Rome. Now *Terracina*, on the Tuſcan Sea.

TARENTUM, now *Tarento*, in the province of *Otranto*. The Lacedæmonians founded a colony there, and thence it was called by Horace *Lacedæmonium Tarentum*.

TARTARUS,

TARTARUS, a river running between the Po and the Atheſis (the *Adige*) from weſt to eaſt, into the Adriatic; now *Tartaro*.

TAURINI, a people dwelling at the foot of the Alps. Their capital was called, after Auguſtus Cæſar, who planted a colony there, *Auguſta Taurinorum*. The modern name is *Turin*, the capital of Piedmont.

TENCTERI, a people of Germany. See the Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxxii.

TICINUM, now *Pavia* in Milan.

TICINUS, a river that falls into the Po, near *Ticinum*; now *Teſino*.

TOLBIACUM, a town of Gallia Belgica; now *Zulpich*, or *Zulch*, a ſmall town in the duchy of Juliers.

TRAPEZUS, now *Trapezond* or *Trebizond*, a city with a port in the Leſſer Aſia, on the Euxine.

THRACIA, an extenſive region, bounded on the north by Mount Hæmus, on the ſouth by the Ægean Sea, and by the Euxine to the eaſt. In the time of Tiberius it was an independent kingdom, but afterwards a Roman province.

TRIBOCI, a people of Belgica, originally Germans. They inhabited *Alſace*, and the dioceſe of *Strasbourg*.

TREVIRI, a people of Gaul, between the Meuſe and the Rhine. Their capital *Auguſta Trevirorum*; now *Triers*, or *Treves*, on the Moſelle.

TUNGRI, a people of Belgia. Their city, according to Cæſar, *Atuaca*; now *Tongeren*, in the biſhopric of Liege.

U.

UBII, a people originally from Germany. Their capital, on the weſt ſide of the Rhine, was called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, till changed by Agrippina, the mother of Nero, to *Colonia Agrippinenſis*. It is now *Cologne*, the capital of the electorate of that name.

UMBRIA, a diviſion of Italy, to the ſouth-eaſt of Etruria, between the Adriatic and the Nar.

URBINUM, now *Urbino*, a city for ever famous for having given birth to Raphael, the celebrated painter.

USIPII, a people of Germany, who, being driven out by the Catti, ſettled near the iſle of Batavia. See the Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxxii.

V.

VADA, a town on the left-hand ſide of the Nile, in the iſland of Batavia.

VANGIONES, originally inhabitants of Germany, but afterwards ſettled in Gaul; now the dioceſe of *Worms*.

VASCONES, a people who inhabited near the Pyrences, occupying lands both in Spain and Gaul.

VELABRUM, a place at Rome between Mount Aventine and Mount Palatine, generally under water, from the overflowing of the Tiber. Propertius deſcribes it elegantly, lib. iv. eleg. x.

Quà velabra ſuo ſtagnabant flumine, quàque
Nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.

VERCELLÆ, now *Vercelli* in Piedmont.

VERONA, now *Verona*, in the territory of Veniee, on the *Adige*.

VETERA CASTRA, the old camp, which was a fortified ſtation for the Roman legions; now *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves, not far from the Rhine.

VIA SALARIA, a road leading from the ſalt works at Oſtia to the country of the Sabines.

VICETIA, now *Vicenza*, a town in the territory of Venice.

VIENNA, now *Vienne*, in Dauphiné.

VINDONISSA, now *Windiſch*, in the Canton of Bern in Swiſſerland.

VOCETIUS MONS, a mountain of the Helvetii, thought to be the roughest part of Mount *Jura*, to which the Helvetii fled, when defeated by Cæcina. See Hiſt. i. ſ. 67.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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